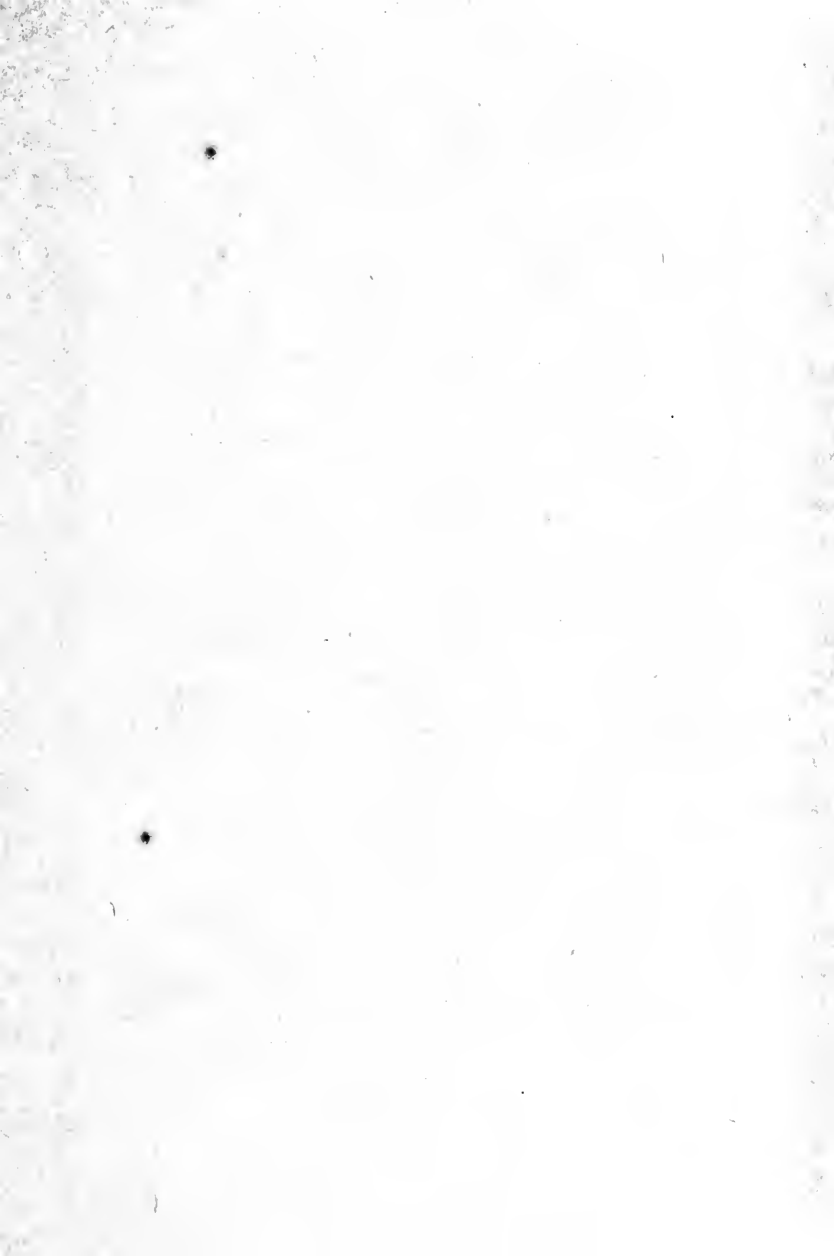


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ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

CONTENTS AND INDEX
VOLUME IX

PUBLISHED BY
THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHICAGO, ILL.

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CONTENTS AND INDEX—VOLUME IX

ARTICLES

	PAGE
Bishop England's Correspondence with Bishop Rosati, <i>Rev. John Rothensteiner</i>	260, 363
Cardinal Mundelein's Estimate of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review...	362
Chicago and How It Grew, <i>George P. Stone</i>	180
Chicago to St. Louis in the Early Day, <i>Rev. John Rothensteiner</i>	21
Editorial Comment	84, 177, 274
Gleanings from Current Periodicals, <i>William Stetson Merrill</i>	88
Heroes of America's Origin, <i>Hon. Victor J. Dowling</i>	39
History in the Press, <i>Teresa L. Maher</i>	93, 183, 382
Homeseekers in the Wilderness, <i>Rev. Paul J. Foik, C. S. C.</i>	327
Illinois—The Cradle of Christianity, <i>Joseph J. Thompson, L. L. D.</i>	193, 291
Influence of the Irish People in the Formation of the United States, <i>Frank Sheridan</i>	377
Institutions Conducted by the Sisters of St. Francis, Springfield, Ill., <i>Rev. A. Zurbonsen</i>	71, 277
Interesting Facts Concerning Chicago's First Four Bishops, <i>Rev. John Rothensteiner</i>	151
In the Clutches of the Barbary Corsairs, <i>Rev. Paul J. Foik, C. S. C.</i>	162
Life of James Marquette, <i>Rev. Henry S. Spalding, S. J.</i>	3, 109, 223
Marquette, the Father of Chicago, <i>Rev. William H. Agnew, S. J., Hon. James H. Wilkerson, Cyrus H. McCormick, Jr., Sol Westerfield</i>	99
Marquette's Burial Site Located, <i>Rev. Patrick Lomasney, S. J.</i>	348
Righting History, The Fitzgerald-Lee Instance, <i>John K. Laurence</i>	323
Right Reverend James Oliver Van de Velde, Archives of St. Louis.....	56
St. Stephen's Mission, <i>Rev. D. W. Moriarty</i>	18
The American Federation of Catholic Societies, <i>Anthony Matre</i>	247
The Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History, <i>Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.</i>	306
The First Settlement on the Site of St. Louis, <i>Rev. Gibert J. Garraghan, S. J.</i>	342
The Franciscan Missions of California, <i>J. J. Ryan</i>	134
The Journey of the Bishop of Walla Walla, <i>Raphael N. Hamilton, S. J.</i>	208
The Priest's House—A Relic of Early Catholicity in Kentucky, <i>Rev. Henry S. Spalding, S. J.</i>	372

ILLUSTRATIONS

Facsimile of Sketch—Map of the Mississippi Basin to Illustrate a Relation Based upon Two Letters of Henri de Tonty.....	Opposite 320
Hurley, Timothy D. Humanitarian.....	Opposite 177
Jolliet, Louis, Co-Discoverer with Father Marquette.....	Opposite 240
Monument to Commemorate James Marquette, S. J., Louis Jolliet.....	Opposite 104, 224

EDITORIALS

Best Known History Worker Dies.....	87
Early Catholics in Maryland.....	276
Gleanings from Current Periodicals.....	274
Hurley, Timothy, D.....	177
Medicine and the California Padres.....	276
Ontario Under the French Regime.....	275
Press Correspondents Deeply Moved.....	86
Religion, A Necessity.....	85
Sesqui-Centennial At Cahokia.....	274
Site of Fort Crevecoeur.....	275
The Candle	86
The Kaskaskia Commons.....	177
The Twenty-Eighth International Eucharistic Congress in History.....	84

CONTRIBUTORS

Agnew, Rev. William H., S. J.....	99, 103
Archives of St. Louis.....	56
Dowling, Hon. Victor J.....	39
Foik, Rev. Paul J., C. S. C.....	162, 327
Garraghan, Rev. Gilbert J., S. J.....	18, 306, 342
Hamilton, Raphael N., S. J.....	208
Laurence, John K.....	323
Lomasney, Rev. Patrick, S. J.....	348
Maher, Teresa L.....	93, 183, 382
Matre, Anthony	247
McCormick, Cyrus H., Jr.....	105
Merrill, William Stetson.....	88, 274
Moriarty, Rev. D. W.....	18
Mundelein, George Cardinal.....	362
Rothensteiner, Rev. John.....	21, 151, 260, 363
Ryan, John J.....	134
Sheridan, Frank	377
Spalding, Rev. Henry S., S. J.....	3, 109, 223, 372
Stone, George P.....	180
Thompson, Joseph J.....	177, 195, 274, 291
Westerfield, Sol	107
Wilkeson, Hon. James H.....	100
Zurbonsen, Rev. A.....	71, 277

GENERAL INDEX—VOLUME IX

A

Abbey of St. Vincent, reference to3, 4
 Acquisition of the Northwest to Be Observed 183
 Ahatsistari, Eustache, Martyrdom of 52
 Aisne, Province of 3
 Algiers, Declaration of War against the United States... 163
 Allouez, Rev. Claude, S. J.
 Among the Hurons 13
 Missionary Labors among the Illinois Indians 302
 Reference to 307
 Successor to Father Marquette. 301
 Alpha Sigma Tau Committee, reference to 358
 Alton Bluffs, Description of..... 126
 American and French Pioneers, Conflict between, in Northwest Territory 339
 American Ecclesiastical Currents and Counter-currents of Early Days 269
 American Federation of Catholic Societies 247
 Andreas, A. T., Author of "A History of Chicago," reference to 225
 Anselm, reference to 4
 Archbishop Kenrick, Francis Patrick, Letters from..... 151
 Reference to 365
 Kenrick, Peter R., of St. Louis67, 155, 210
 Marechal, Ambrose 62
 Messmer, S. G., reference to 79, 81, 82
 Whitfield, James of Baltimore, President of First Provincial Council 265
 Reference to267, 270
 Relations of, to Bishop England 365
 Arkansas Indians and Father Marquette 130
 Arrapahoe Indians18, 19
 Chief of 19
 Arras, France 5
 Aspen Lake, Oregon, reference to. 88
 Assinapour Indians 17
 "Au Mississippi," reference to... 5
 Austria, Emperor of, and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith 272

B

Bainbridge, Captain, and the Barbary Corsairs 175
 Baneroff and the California Missions137, 141, 148
 Account of the Death of Father Marquette230, 233, 235
 Baptist Church, First, in Chicago. 182
 Barbary Corsairs 162
 Algerine Pirates Threaten American Ships 163
 Emperor of Morocco Makes Treaty of Peace with the U. S. 171
 American Shipping again at the Mercy of 173
 Final Submission of..... 175
 Bardstown, Kentucky, St. Gregory's Church, reference to... 373
 Barron, Rt. Rev. Bishop of Eucarpia, Vicar Apostolic of Guinea 210
 Bede, Rev., O. F. M., reference to. 77
 Benedict XV, Pope, Sends Blessing to American Federation of Catholic Societies 254
 Bennett, James O'Donnell, Chicago Newspaper Correspondent, quoted 86
 Bergier, Rev., at the Tamaroa Mission30, 315, 345
 Bienville, Founder of New Orleans, to Be Honored..... 183
 Reference to 316
 Biloxi, Foundation of, by Iberville, on the Lower Mississippi31, 343
 Reference to 312
 Binnetan, Rev. Julien, S. J., quoted 41
 Reference to 27
 Death of 30
 Birth Place of Marquette..... 3
 Bishop Blanchet, A. M. A., of Walla Walla, Letters of..... 208
 Byrne, Andrew, of Little Rock, reference to 152
 David of Bardstown, Letters of. 363
 De Neckere, reference to..... 63, 269, 270, 271, 365
 Dubourg, Dr., reference to..... 61, 62, 262, 326
 Duggan, James, Fourth Bishop of Chicago151, 161
 England of Charleston, S. C. 260, 366
 Flaget of Bardstown..... 59, 61, 65, 209, 363, 364

Henni, Dr., of Milwaukee.....	70	Bori, Rev. John, S. J., reference to	344, 345
Hoban, Edward F., Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago.....	87	Breasted, James Henry, Professor of Egyptology, quoted.....	91
Hughes, John, of New York, reference to	152	Brebeuf, Blessed John de, S. J., reference to	53, 275
Junker, Henry Damien, First Bishop of Alton, Ill.....	160	Bressani, Rev. Joseph, reference to	54
Laval De Montmorency, Francis, First Bishop of Quebec.....	22	Brulé, Etienne, Pioneer of Huron Country	275
Martin, A., reference to.....	70	Byrne, Andrew, Bishop of Little Rock, reference to.....	152
McCloskey, John, Coadjutor of New York, reference to.....	152		
McFaul, James A., D. D., of Trenton, N. J.....	248	C	
O'Connor of Pittsburgh, refer- ence to	208	Cabrillo, Estevan (also called Juan), reference to.....	140
O'Connor, James, Vicar Apos- tolic of the Vicariate of Nebraska	18	Cahokia, Indians	28
O'Regan, Anthony, Third Bishop of Chicago	151, 157	Jesuit Mission for United Illi- nois Nation	29, 344
Portier, Dr., reference to.....	263	Sesqui-Centennial at	275
Purcell, Edward, of Cincinnati..156, 209, 270,	366	California Emigrant Trails.....	91
Quarter, William, First Bishop of Chicago	151	California, Franciscan Missions, List of	141
Resé, Dr., reference to.....		Missions and Junipero Serra, O. F. M.	135
.....269, 271, 364,	366	Secularization of Franciscan Missions	146
Rosati, Dr., reference to...62,	364	Calumet or Peace Pipe, Description and Meaning of	198
Correspondence of Bishop England with	260	Calverts, Motto of the.....	90
Death of	371	Canada, Opposition of Officials of, against Society of Jesus....	233
Spalding, Dr. reference to...65,	67	Captivity of Americans in Algiers, Account of	165
St. Conoald of Laon, reference to	4	Cardinal Bonzano, Legate of the Pope, reference to.....	84
St. Genebaud of Laon, reference to	4	Frasoni, Prefect of the Congrega- tion of the Propaganda....	154
St. Iatro of Laon, reference to.	4	Gibbons, reference to	254
St. Serulpe of Laon, reference to	4	Mundelein, D. D., reference to..	84, 362
Vallier of Quebec, reference to..	22	Carroll of Carrollton, Charles, reference to	63
Van de Velde, J. O., Second Bishop of Chicago	56	Carroll, Rev. John, reference to... 62	
Bishop Hill Colony, Memorial of..	187	Cathedral, Gothic, of Laon.....	4
Black Coal, Chief of Arrapahoe Tribe	19	"Centenary of Catholicity in Ken- tucky," by B. J. Webb, refer- ence to	373
Blanchet, Rt. Rev. A. M. A., Bishop of Walla Walla		Chabanel, Blessed Noel, S. J., Mar- tyrdom of	52
Journey from Pittsburgh to St. Louis	208	Chabrat, Rt. Rev., reference to....209, 269,	364
From St. Louis to Kansas.....	210	Chamuscado-Rodriguez Expedition.	90
Difficulties Encountered between Kansas and Westport.....	212	Chaounou Indians	16
Across the Prairies to Fort Laramie	214	Chaplains, St. Vincent's Hospital, Green Bay, Wis.....	81
Celebration of the Fourth of July	217	St. Joseph's Hospital, Chippewa Falls, Wis.	280
From Fort Laramie to Fort Hall	217	Sacred Heart Hospital, Eau Claire, Wis.	288
Arrival at Walla Walla.....	220	Chardon, Rev. John D. reference to	22
Blue Bucket Creek, Oregon, refer- ence to	88		
Bonzano, Cardinal, Legate of the Pope, reference to.....	84		

- Charleston, S. C., Conflagration of, and Aid Brought to..... 369
- Charlevoix, Rev. Pierre, Francois Xavier de, S. J., Historian, reference to234, 317, 320
- Visit to Marquette's Burial Place 349
- Writings of, Regarding Burial Place of Marquette.....349, 361
- Chaucetiere, Rev., quoted..... 22
- Chicago, Beginning of Catholic History of 21
- Early Consecration of..... 103
- First Chapel of..... 346
- First Four Bishops of..... 151
- First Permanent Churches of... 180
- First Resident of..... 292
- River, Called River of the Portage 291
- Second Bishop of..... 56
- Site of, According to Jolliet... 204
- Chicagoua, Chief of Tamaroas, reference to 345
- Chief, Indian, of Arrapahoe, Black Coal 19
- Of Kaskaskias, Rouensa.....31, 345
- Of Tamaroas, Chicagoua..... 345
- Of Tamaroas, Long Neck..... 345
- Peourias, Conversion of..... 24
- Chippewa Falls, Wis., St. Joseph's Hospital, Location of..... 277
- Development of Hospital..... 278
- Chippewa Indians 377
- Chittenden, H. M., quoted..... 88
- Chouteau, Auguste, Founder of St. Louis 343
- Circus People, Petersburg, Ill., List of 191
- Clark, Gen. George Rogers, reference to274, 338
- Clete, Rev. O. F. M., reference to.. 77
- College, Marquette, Milwaukee.... 3
- Santa Cruz in Tlaltelolco, reference to 41
- St. Joseph's, Bardstown, Ky.... 373
- St. Xavier, St. Louis, Mo..... 64
- Congregation of the Propaganda, Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of, reference to 154
- Consul of Nantz, Letter of, to the Consul of L'Orient..... 164
- Coolidge, President of the U. S., quoted 85
- Corcoran, James Francis, Chicago Newspaper Correspondent, quoted 86
- Council of Baltimore, First Plenary, reference to..... 155
- First Provincial, reference to... 265
- National 67
- Second Provincial, reference to 366, 368
- Cox, C. C., Diary of, "From Texas to California in 1849"..... 90
- Crespi, Rev., O. F. M., and the California Missions 136
- Reaches the Golden Gate..... 140
- Names Bay of San Francisco.. 141
- Culver, Francis B., Extracts from "Maryland Historical Magazine" 90

D

- Dablon, Rev. Claude, S. J., quoted196, 204, 229, 291
- Character Sketch of Father Marquette, Written by..... 242
- Dakota Indians Leave Farms to Join Carnivals 186
- Dale, Commodore, and the Barbary Corsairs 175
- Daniel, Blessed Anthony, S. J., Martyrdom of 52
- David, Rt. Rev. John Baptist, reference to 269
- Letter of, to Sister M. Magdalena Neale363
- Davion, Rev., Member of Society of the Foreign Missions..... 24
- De Bourgmond, Etienne Veniard, Explorer of the Great Waterway 316
- Erection of Fort Orleans..... 317
- Return to France..... 319
- Decatur, Lieutenant Stephen, and the Barbary Corsairs..... 175
- De Galvez, John, Visitor-General to the Mexican Provinces of Spain, reference to..... 135
- D'Iberville, Governor of the Louisiana Colony315, 343
- De La Salle, St. John Baptist, reference to 7
- Do La Salle, Robert Cavalier, Journey of, up the Mississippi 309
- Members of the Party or..... 310
- De Montigny, Rev., Member of the Society of the Foreign Missions 24
- De Neckere, Rt. Rev., reference to63, 269, 270, 271, 365
- Derbanne, Commandant at Natchitoches, quoted 315
- De Santa Maria, Rev. Juan, O. F. M., and the Chamuscado-Rodriguez Expedition 90
- Desliettes, Commandant of the Illinois Post, quoted..... 312
- Reference to 318
- De Smet, Rev., and the Pottawatamies 89
- Reference to 209

- De Soto, Comparison of, with Father Marquette 245
- De Soulange, M., Letter of, to the Consul at Nantz.....164
- Detheux, Rev. Theodore J., reference to62, 64
- De Tonty, Italian Explorer, reference to..25, 26, 27, 275, 306, 310
- Development of the Church in the Southern States and in the Middle West 262
- Dever, Mayor of Chicago, quoted.. 85
- Discoverer of Mississippi River, Marquette or Vaca?..... 114
- Dolé, M., Entomologist..... 5
- Dominican Friars, Heroes of America's Origin 43
- Dominic, Rev., O. F. M., reference to 77
- Dongan, Gouverneur Thomas, reference to 54
- Douglas, David, Botanist..... 88
- Druilletes, Rev., S. J., reference to 11
- Dubourg, Rt. Rev. Dr., reference to61, 62, 262, 326
- Duggan, Bishop James, Fourth Bishop of Chicago.....151, 161
- E**
- East, Dr., of Springfield, Medical Director of St. John's Sanitarium 74
- Eau Claire, Wis., Sacred Heart Hospital 280
- Artistic Way of the Cross..... 287
- Description of New Chapel.... 284
- Growth and Improvement of Hospital 281
- Sacred Heart Hospital Training School 284
- El Camino Real, King's Highway, California, reference to..142, 186
- Elder, Rev. George A. M., President of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, Ky. 373
- Elet, Rev. Fr., reference to..64, 65, 209
- England and the Barbary Corsairs 167
- England, Rt. Rev. John, Bishop of Charleston, S. C., Apostolic Delegate to Haiti... 366
- Death of 371
- Letters of, to Bishop Rosati... 262, 366, 367
- "Letters on the Catholic Doctrine of Transubstantiation," reference to 370
- Publisher of the "United States Catholic Miscellany" 261
- Sketch of 260
- Visit to Ireland..... 267
- Eucharistic Congress, Twenty-Eighth International 84
- Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Tradition Connected with Feastday of 303
- Exmouth, Lord, and the Barbary Corsairs 175
- "Extracts from Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis," reference to 276
- F**
- Federation, American, of Catholic Societies 247
- Inception of the Federation Movement 248
- Call for the First National Convention 248
- First National Convention..... 248
- Endorsements of the Hierarchy of 250
- Objects and Principles of..... 251
- Platform of, Explained by Bishop Schrembs 251
- The Holy Father's Endorsement of 253
- Endorsement of the Secular Press 254
- Accomplishments of 255
- Critics of 257
- Affiliated Societies of..... 257
- Officers of 258
- National Convention Cities of.. 259
- Ferguson, Benjamin Franklin, Fund of 100
- Figueroa, Governor of New Mexico, and the Secularization of California Missions 185
- Fitzgerald, John, and His Place in American History 323
- Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown, reference to...59, 61, 65, 209, 363
- Letter of, to Rev. Frederick Resé 364
- Flanders, Counties of, reference to 5
- Flathead Indians 219
- Floribert, Rev., O. F. M., reference to 77
- Foreign Missions, Society of, reference to22, 313, 321
- Fort De Crèvecoeur, Location of.. 275
- Fort Laramie 214
- Franciscan Missionaries, Heroes of America's Origin 41
- Franciscan Missionaries among the Pueblo Indians 184
- Franciscan Missions of California, List of 141
- Franciscan Sisters, Superioresses

of St. Mary's Hospital, Streator, Ill.	77
Freeman, Rev. Allen B., Organized First Baptist Church in Chi- cago	182
French Revolution, reference to...	56
Frontenac, Governor General of New France, and Father Pinet..	23
Reference to	101, 196, 233

G

Ganonakoa, Etienne te, Martyrdom of	52
Garnier, Blessed Charles, S. J., Martyrdom of	53
Garongonas, Marguerente, Indian Martyr	52
Genebaud, St., Bishop of Laon...	4
Gibbons, Cardinal, reference to...	254
Gonannhatenha, Francoise, Indian Martyr	52
Goupel, Blessed René, S. J., Life and Martyrdom of	50
Goustahra, Jeanne, Indian Martyr.	52
Gravier, Rev. James, S. J., Super- rior of the Illinois Missions, quoted	23, 25, 30, 31, 344
Guardian Angel Mission, Founda- tion of	22
Description of	26

H

Haile, Rev. Bernard, O. F. M., and Manual of Navajo Indian Grammar	96
Hamy, Rev. A., Jesuit Historian.	5, 6
Harmar, General, Extracts from Letters Sent to	377
Reference to	339, 340
Harrisse, Henri, "Notes sur la Cartographie de la Nouvelle France," reference to	307
Harvey, Rev. Thomas, S. J., refer- ence to	54
Hennepin, Fr. and Fort De Creve- coeur	275
Henni, Rt. Rev. Dr., of Milwaukee	70
Henry, Patrick, Governor of Vir- ginia, reference to	274
"Hiawatha's Welcome," Longfel- low	199
History of Laon	3
Hoban, Rt. Rev. Edward F., Aux- iliary Bishop of Chicago, Citi- zen's Pledge, Administered by	87
Hospitals, Sacred Heart, Eau Claire, Wis.	280
St. John's Sanitarium, Spring- field, Ill.	73
St. Joseph's Chippewa Falls, Wis.	277
St. Mary's Streator, Ill.	76

St. Vincent's, Green Bay, Wis...	77
Hudson Bay Company, Mr. W. McBean, Agent of	222
Hughes, Rt. Rev. John, Bishop of New York, reference to	152
Hungary, King of, and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith	272
Hurley, Judge Timothy D., Eulogy of	177
Huron Indians and Father Allouez	13, 109

I

Iberville, Founder of Biloxi....	31, 343
Illinois, A Canal Suggested	206
Board of Health, reference to...	71
County of	274
Discovery and Exploration of...	195
Establishment of the Catholic Church in	296
First Chapel of	226
First Novena Made in	295
First Sacrifice of Holy Mass Offered in	229
Fruits and Vegetables of, Des- cribed by Father Marquette.	201
Prairies and Agricultural Ad- vantages of	205
Illinois Catholic Historical Review, Estimate of	362
Illinois Indians	15, 16, 125, 225, 227, 229, 302, 311
Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mission of	229, 296
Indians, Arrapahoe	18, 19
Assinopouars	17
Chokias	28
Chaounou	16
Chippewas	337
Flatheads	219
Hurons	13, 109
Illinois 15, 16, 125, 225, 227, 229, 302,	311
Kaskaskias	24, 204, 313, 343
Kechigamis	16, 302
Kiskakons	14, 231
Menominees	118
Miami	21, 119, 305
Michigamias	29
Missouri	310
Mohawks	48
Nadouessi	16
Osages	310
Ottawas	12, 14, 109, 231
Pawnees	312
Peorias	24, 203, 305
Potawatomi, also Pottawattamie	22, 89
Pueblo	184
Shoshone	18

Tamarois	28
Wyoming	18
Indians and Pioneers in the North-west Territory	340
Ingraham Kip, Rev. William, Episcopal Bishop, "Early Jesuit Missions of North America" ..	40
Invocation at Unveiling of Marquette and Jolliet Memorial..	99
Ireland, List of Commanding Officers Born in	379
List of Revolutionary Navy Captains Born in	380
Signers of the Declaration of Independence Born in	381
Irish People, Pre-Revolution Settlements by	377
Statesman, Daniel O'Connell, quoted	261

J

Jacker, Rev. Edward, Author of "Woodstock Letters"	235
Jackson, Mrs. Helen Hunt, "California and Its Missions"	148
James, George Wharten, "In and Out of the Old Missions" and "Through Ramona's Country," reference to	148
Janson, Eric, Founder of Bishop Hill Colony	187
Jesuit Fathers and Their Labors among Illinois Indians	27
Heroes of America's Origin	43
In the Missouri Valley	314
Withdrawn from Cahokia Missions	344
Jesuit Martyrs: Brebeuf, Blessed John de	53
Chabanel, Blessed Noel	52
Daniel, Blessed Anthony	52
Garnier, Blessed Charles	53
Goupil, Blessed Rene	50
Jogues, Blessed Isaac	45
Lalande, Blessed John	51
Lalemant, Blessed Gabriel	53
Poisson, Father du	53
Rale, Sebastian	53
Souel, Rev.	53
"Jesuit Relations," reference to	40, 349
Jogues, Blessed Isaac, Jesuit Martyr	43
Early Life of	45
Martyrdom of	46
Quoted	50
Jolliet, Louis, Character Sketch of Comparison of, with Father Marquette	196, 245
Pioneer of New France	101
Reference to	195, 309
Voyage of Discovery of	196

Report of the Voyage	204
Unveiling of Memorial to Marquette and	99
Journal d'Aisne, reference to	6
Judge Timothy D. Hurley, Eulogy of	177
Junker, Rt. Rev. Henry Damien, First Bishop of Alton, Illinois ..	160
Jutz, Rev. John, S. J., reference to ..	19

K

Kaskaskia, Commons, Title of	177
Indian Legend Connected with ..	382
Indians	24, 204, 313, 343
Migration of Indians of	31
Victim of Mississippi River	382
Kechigami Indians	16, 302
Kenny, Rev. Laurence J., S. J., reference to	313, 343
Kenny, Rev. Peter, reference to ..	63, 64
Kenrick, Archbishop Francis Patrick, Letters from	151
Reference to	155, 365
Kenrick, Most Rev. Peter R., reference to	67, 155, 210
Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence ..	151
Kentucky, Relic of Early Catholicity in	372
Kiskakons, Ottawa Indians, and Father Marquette	14, 231
Kohlmann, Rev. Anthony, S. J., reference to	61

L

Laclede, Pierre Ligueste, Founder of St. Louis	343
Lafayette, Visit of, to Shawneetown, Ill.	384
Lahontan, Baron, and His Narrative of His Experience on the Missouri	310
Lalande, Jean, S. J., reference to ..	49
Martyrdom of	51
Lalemant, Blessed Gabriel, S. J., Martyr	53
Lalemant, Rev. Jerome, reference to	51, 275
Martyrdom of	53
Lamprecht, William, Painter of Picture of Marquette	239
Lander, Wyoming, Missionary Headquarters	19
Laon, History of	3
Cathedral of	4
La Pointe, Mission of	12
La Salle, French Explorer, reference to	101
Comparison of, with Father Marquette	245
Fort De Crevecoeur, Built by ..	275
Latro St., Bishop of Laon	4

- Laval de Montmorency, Francis,
First Bishop of Quebec..... 22
- Lawrence, Rev., O. F. M., reference
to 77
- Le Castor, Jacques, Companion of
Father Marquette 224, 291
- Lee, John Fitzgerald, Jr., Descent
of 324
Endowment of 324
- Lee, Richard Henry, reference to. 323
- Lemoyne, Rev., S. J..... 54
- Leo XIII, Pope, Sends Approba-
tion and Blessing to American
Federation of Catholic Socie-
ties 254
- Leopoldine Association, reference
to 171, 364, 367
- Letters of Archbishop Francis Pat-
rick Kenrick 151
- Letter of Bishop David to Sister
M. Magdalene Neale..... 363
- Letter of John C. Calhoun to Gen-
eral Clark, Extract from..... 321
- Letter of Pope Pius X..... 254
- Letters of Rt. Rev. A. M. A.
Blanchet, Bishop of Walla
Walla 208
- Letters of Rt. Rev. John England
to Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati. 260, 363
- “Letters on the Catholic Doctrine
of Transsubstantiation,” by
Bishop England, reference to 370
- Letters Regarding Barbary Cors-
airs 167
- “Letters, Unpublished,” of Ma-
dame Bonaparte to Mrs. Rob-
ert Patterson, reference to... 276
- Letters, Written by American Cap-
tains, Captured by Algerine
Pirates 164
- Lewis and Clark Expedition, refer-
ence to 320
- Life, Early, of Marquette..... 3
- Limoges, France, Birthplace of
Rev. P. F. Pinet, S. J..... 22
- Lincoln, Surveyor of Petersburg.. 189
Cabin of, Indiana's First Or-
phanage 93
Memorial Road to Be Built.... 190
- Longfellow, reference to..... 199
- Long Neck, Chief of the Tama-
roas, reference to..... 345
- Lopez, Rev. Francisco, O. F. M.,
and the Chamuscado-Rodri-
guez Expedition 90
- Ludington, Michigan, Burial Place
of Father Marquette near.... 349
- M
- Mackinac, Mission of St. Ignatius,
Erection of First Chapel..... 110
- MacNeil, Herman A., Sculptor of
Marquette, Jolliet Monument.
..... 100, 361
- Maid of Orleans, reference to.... 4
- Main, John Bradford, Chicago
Newspaper Correspondent,
quoted 86
- Maps of Trans-Mississippi West,
reference to 309
- Marechal, Most Rev. Ambrose, refer-
ence to 62
- Marest, Rev. S. J., Superior of Il-
linois Missions, Information
of, Regarding Valley of the
Missouri 312
Quoted 30, 35
Reference to 27, 344, 345
- Marietta, First Town Established
by Ohio Company..... 335
- Marquette Abbey, Lille, France.. 5
- Marquette College, Milwaukee.... 3
- Marquette University, Milwaukee.
..... 5, 238, 239
- Marquette, Frances, Sister of
Father James Marquette.... 6
- James, Son of Vermand Mar-
quette 5, 16
- Nicolas, Honored by King Henry
IV 6
- Vermand, First of This Name
Known to History..... 5
- Marquette, Rev. James, S. J.
Character Sketch of..... 103, 242
Pioneer of New France..... 100
Missionary Life among Hurons
and Ottowas 109
Quoted 113, 197, 198, 201, 227, 229, 292
In Search of the Mississippi
River 115, 195
Finding the Great River..... 116
Report of the Journey..... 197
Meeting the Illinois Indians... 125
Passing the Juncture of the Mis-
souri River 126, 308
With the Arkansas Indians.... 130
Up the Illinois River..... 203
With the Kaskaskias..... 204
Return to Lake Michigan..... 132
Life in Chicago..... 293
Pierre Porteret and Jacques Le
Castor, Companions of... 224, 291
Diary of 223, 232, 234
Illness of 224
Death and Burial of.. 229, 297, 350
Original Burial Place of... 299, 349
Removal of Remains of..... 232
History of Grave or..... 235
Grave Markers Remembered... 361
Remarkable Occurrences in Con-
nection with 300
Comparison of, with Jolliet, De
Soto, La Salle..... 245

Unveiling of Memorial to.....	99	Meyer, Rev. Theodocius, Research	
Statue of	238, 246	Work of	184
Successors of	301	Miami, Second Oldest Indian Mis-	
Martin, Mrs. Mabelle Eppard, Ex-		sion in Illinois.....	21, 119, 305
tracts from "Southwestern		Minahan, Dr. John, reference to..	78
Historical Quarterly"	91	Missions:	
Martin, Rt. Rev. A., reference to..	70	Guardian Angel	22, 26
Martyrs, Indian		Holy Family of the Tamaroa...	313
Ahatsistari, Eustache	52	Illinois	23, 344
Ganonakoa, Etienne te.....	52	Immaculate Conception of the	
Garongonas, Marguerente	52	Blessed Virgin Mary.....	229, 296
Gonannhatenha, Francoise	52	Miami, Second Oldest Mission in	
Goustahra, Jeanne	52	Illinois	21, 119, 305
Tekawitha, Catherine, "Lily of		Michigamia Indian	29
the Mohawks"	52	Missouri	62, 306, 310
Martyrs, Jesuit		Mohawk Indian	48
Brebeuf, Blessed John de.....	53	Of the Martyrs.....	51, 55
Chabanel, Blessed Noel.....	52	Ottawa—Holy Spirit, La Pointe,	
Daniel, Blessed Anthony.....	52	Lake Superior	12
Garnier, Blessed Charles.....	53	St. Ignace	110, 299
Goupil, Blessed René.....	50	Sault de Ste. Marie.....	12
Jogues, Blessed Isaac.....	45	St. Francis Xavier, Green Bay	
Lalande, Blessed John.....	51	12, 223
Lalemant, Blessed Gabriel.....	53	Wyoming	18
Poisson, Father du.....	53	Mississippi River, First Mention	
Rale, Sebastian	53	of	16
Souel, Rev.	53	Discovery of	114, 121
Martyr, Sulpician		Missouri River, reference to.....	
St. Cosme, Rev. J. B. de.....	53	126, 202, 308
Martyrs to the Faith in Florida..	53	Original Name of.....	312
McArthur, Lewis A., Extracts from		Moriarty, Rev. D. W., and the	
the Quarterly of "Oregon		Wyoming Indians	18
Historical Society"	88	Mormonism in Illinois.....	94
McCloskey, John, Coadjutor of		Mother Marciana, Ven., Sister of	
New York, reference to.....	152	St. Francis	71
McFaul, Rt. Rev. James A., D. D.,		Mullin, Mr. Frank Anthony, Ex-	
Bishop of Trenton, N. J.,		tracts from "Iowa Journal of	
Spiritual Director of American		History and Politics".....	89
Federation of Catholic Socie-		Mundelein, George Cardinal, D. D.,	
ties	248	reference to	84
McSherry, Rev. Wm., reference to.		Estimate of the Illinois Catholic	
.....	63, 64	Historical Review	362
Mecham, J. Lloyd, Extracts from		Muskingum Settlement of the Ohio	
"Southwestern Historical		Company	334
Quarterly"	90		
Megapolensis, Dominic, reference			
to	47, 49, 54		
Membré, Rev. Zenobius, and Fort			
de Crevecoeur	275		
Member of De La Salle's Party			
of Exploration	310		
Memorial to Marquette and Jolliet,			
Unveiling of	99		
Dedicatory Address	105		
Address of Acceptance.....	107		
Menominee Indians	118		
Mercier, Rev. Jean Baptiste, Pio-			
neer Resident Priest of the			
Missouri	317		
Death and Eulogy of.....	319		
Messmer, Most Rev. Archbishop			
S. G., reference to....	79, 81, 82		

N

Nadouessi Indians	16
Nancy, City of France, Jesuit No-	
violate	8
National Council of Baltimore....	67
Navajo Indian Grammar, Manual	
of	96
Nerineks, Rev. Charles, reference	
to	58
New Orleans, Founder of, to Be	
Honored	183
Nicolet, Jean, First White Man to	
Reach Wisconsin	307
Northwest Territory, Sesqui-Cen-	
tennial of Establishment of..	
.....	183, 274
Division of	274

Regulations for the Government of	330	Piasa or Thunder Bird, Description of	202
O			
O'Brien, Michael J., Historian, "A Hidden Phase of American History," reference to...	381	Pinet, Rev. Francis, S. J. among the Miami Indians.....	21
Obryan, Captain, Letter of...165,	168	Founder of Guardian Angel Mis- sion	22
O'Connell, Daniel, Irish Statesman, quoted	261	Removal of by Count Frontenac	23
O'Connor, Rt. Rev. Bishop of Pitts- burgh, reference to	208	Reinstatement of	24
O'Connor, Rt. Rev. James, Vicar Apostolic of the Vicariate of Nebraska	18	Visits to Kaskaskias and Peorias	24, 344
Ohio Company, Origin of.....	327	Missionary Work among Tama- rois	30, 344
Board of Directors of.....	330	Pious Fund, reference to.....	185
Extent of Land Granted to....	331	Pius X, Pope, Letter of.....	254
Resolutions Made by.....	331	Plumb, Colonel, reference to.....	76
Extracts from Journal of.....	332	Poncet, Rev. Joseph, S. J., refer- ence to	54
First Party of Emigrants of... 334		Poisson, Father du, Jesuit Martyr	53
Marietta, First Town Estab- lished by	335	Pope Leo XIII Sends Approbation and Blessing to American Federation of Catholic Socie- ties	254
Great Possibilities of Commerce Settlers Suffering from Indian Attacks	336	Pius X, Letter of.....	254
O'Kelly, Rev. Pastor of St. Pat- rick's of Streator, Ill.....	76	Benedict XV Sends Blessing to American Federation of Cath- olic Societies	254
"Old Fort," Starved Rock, refer- ence to	26, 297	Urban IV, reference to.....	4
Ordinance of 1787, reference to...	339	Porter, Dr. Jeremiah, First Presby- terian Minister of Chicago...	181
O'Regan, Bishop Anthony, Third Bishop of Chicago.....	151, 157	Porteret, Pierre, Companion of Father Marquette	224, 291
Oregon, Geographic Names.....	88	Portier, Rt. Rev. Dr., reference to	263
Osage Indians	310	Potawatomi Mission, reference to	22, 89
Ottawa Missions and Father Mar- quette	12, 14, 109	Presbyterian Minister, First, of Chicago, Dr. Jeremiah Porter.	181
P			
Palant, Abbe of Cilly, reference to	6	Program, Unveiling of Memorial to Marquette	99
Pareja, Rev. Francis, reference to	41	Propagation of the Faith, Society of, reference to	271, 367
Parkman, Historian, reference to	235, 356	"Province of Ontario," a History, by J. E. Middleton and F. Landon, reference to.....	275
Patier, Rev., Author of Huron Grammar and Dictionary....	276	Pueblo Indians, Early Missionary Work among	184
Pawnee Indians	312	Purcell, Rt. Rev. Edward, Bishop of Cincinnati...156, 209, 270,	366
Peoria Indians	24, 203, 305	Q	
Peourias, Indian Chief, Conversion of	24	Quarter, Bishop William, First Bishop of Chicago.....	151
Pere Marquette River, Burial Place of Father Marquette.....	348	Sketch of	151
Indian Name of.....	354	Letters to Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick	151
Misleading Guide Post.....	354	Quebec, Canada, Landing Place of Marquette	10
River Bed Determined.....	356	Quickenborne, Rev. Chas. F. Van, reference to	63
Course of River Changed.....	357	Quincy, Foundation of Diocese of	67
Information of Old Residents in Regard to	358		
Indian Tales about.....	360		
Petersburg, Ill., Foundation of...	188		
Community of Circus People....	190		

R

Rale, Sebastian, S. J., Martyrdom of	53
Resé, Rt. Rev. Dr., reference to	269, 271, 364, 366
Ricklin, Rev. Pastor of St. John's, Green Bay, Wis.	79
Death and Burial of	81
Sketch of	82
Rivière des Peres, or the River of the Fathers	32, 313, 343
St. Francois Xavier Village on	37
Rodriguez, Rev. Augustin, O.F.M., and the Chamuscado-Rodriguez Expedition	90
Rosati, Rt. Rev. Dr., reference to	62, 364
Correspondence of Bishop England with	260
Death of	371
Rouensa, Chief of the Kaskaskias.	31, 345

S

Sanchez, Captain Francisco, and the Chamuscado-Rodriguez Expedition	90
San Diego, First California Mission	137
San Francisco Bay Named by Rev. Crespi, O. F. M.	141
San Juan Capistrano Destroyed by an Earthquake	143
Santa Ines and Pasquala Who Saved the Mission	144
"Scalpel under Three Flags in California," reference to	276
Secularization of California Missions	146, 185
Serra, Rev. Junipero, O. F. M. and the California Missions	135
Sketch of	136
Death of	145
Reference to	276
Sesqui-Centennial Exposition to Commemorate Acquisition of the Northwest	183
Shawneetown, Ill., Origin of	383
"The Bank of Illinois," Founded at	383
Great Floods at	384
First Government Land Office Established in Illinois, was Opened at	384
Visit of Lafayette	384
Criticism of Early People of	384
Shea, Historian, reference to	234, 349, 356
Shoshone Indians	18
Sioux Legend of Creation	186
Sister Felice, Second Superioress	

of St. Vincent's Hospital, Green Bay, Wis.	80
Sisters of St. Francis, Chippewa Falls, Wis., St. Joseph's Hospital	277
Eau Claire, Wis., Sacred Heart Hospital	280
Green Bay, Wis., St. Vincent's Hospital	77
Springfield, Ill., St. John's Sanitarium	73
Streator, Ill., St. Mary's Hospital	76
Society for the Propagation of the Faith, reference to	271
Society of Jesus, Noviciate	8
Missionary Labors of, in the Missouri Valley	314, 322
Society of the Foreign Missions, "The Gentlemen of the Seminary of Quebec," reference to	22, 313, 321
Exploring Expedition to the Mississippi	25
Fathers of Montigny, St. Cosme, and Davion, Members of	24
Souel, Rev., Jesuit Martyr	53
Spalding, Rt. Rev. Dr., reference to	65, 67
Spalding, Rev. Henry S., S. J., quoted	109
St. Clair, General Arthur, First Governor of Northwest Territory	274
St. Conoald, Bishop of Laon	4
St. Cosme, Rev., quoted	25, 26, 27, 28
Martyrdom of	53
St. Cyr, Rev. John Mary Irenaeus, reference to	21
Organized First Permanent Catholic Church in Chicago	181
St. Francis Xavier Mission, reference to	223
St. Genebaud, Bishop of Laon, reference to	4
St. Ignace Mission, Michilimackinac	297
St. John's Sanitarium, Building of	71
Location of	72
Celebration of First Holy Mass	74
St. Latro, Bishop of Laon, reference to	4
St. Louis, Connection of, with Four Great Historical Events	343
First Bishop of the Diocese of	262
First Offering of Holy Mass	28
Founders of	343
St. Louis University, reference to	5, 326
St. Serulpe, Bishop of Laon	4
St. Vincent's Hospital, Green Bay, Wis.	

Location of	77
Poverty of	78
Removal of	79
St. Xavier College, St. Louis, Mis- souri	64
Straub, Rev., Director of St. John's Sanitarium	71
Streator, Ill., St. Mary's Hospital Location and Description of Hospital	75 76
Swartz, Willis G., Sterling College, Sterling, Kansas, quoted.....	94

T

Taft, Lorado, Sculptor of Statue of Lincoln, quoted.....	94
Tamaroa Mission and Father Ber- gier	28, 30, 315, 345
Tekawitha, Catherine, "Lily of the Mohawks," reference to.....	52
Termonde, Birthplace of Rt. Rev. J. O. Van de Velde.....	56
Three Rivers, Canada, Description of	11
Thwaites, Gold Reuben, reference to	5, 349
Quoted	40
Todd, Colonel John, County Lieu- tenant, reference to.....	274
Transubstantiation, Letters on Catholic Doctrine of.....	370
Trentanove, Geatano, Sculptor of Statue of Marquette.....	239
Turner, Professor Henry Jackson, Thesis of	306

U

University, Marquette, Milwaukee.	5, 238, 239
of Lima, Peru, reference to....	41
of Mexico, Medical School, refer- ence to	41
of Mexico, reference to.....	41
of St. Louis, reference to.....	5, 326
of Wisconsin, reference to.....	5
Upham, Warren, and the True Dis- coverers of the Mississippi River	121
Urban IV, Pope, reference to....	4
Ursuline Nuns in Charleston, S. C.	368

V

Vallier, Bishop of Quebec, refer- ence to	22
Van de Velde, Rt. Rev. J. O., Early Life of.....	56
Teaching Career	57
Vocation to the Priesthood.....	58
Voyage to America.....	60
Entrance into Novitiate of the Society of Jesus.....	61
Ordination	62
Journey to St. Louis.....	63
Visit to Louisiana.....	63
Activities at the College.....	64
First Trip to Rome.....	64
Appointment as Provincial	65
Nomination and Consecration as Bishop of Chicago.....	65
Second Bishop of Chicago.....	151
Second Trip to Rome.....	68
Appointment as Bishop of Nat- chez	69
Van Norstrand, Dr., reference to.	78
Verhaegen, Rev. P. J., reference to	63, 64, 66
Verlooy, Rev. Wm., reference to..	58
Virginia, Patrick Henry, Governor of	274
Viscayno, Sebastian, Navigator, reference to	140
Vivier, Rev., S. J., quoted.....	321

W

Wabash River, reference to.....	202
Walla Walla and Bishop Blanchet.	220
Warren, Louis, A., Zionsville, Ind., quoted	93
Waterloo, reference to.....	57
Wayne, Mad Anthony, reference to	341
Weber, Mrs. Jessie Palmer, Librar- ian of the State Historical Library of Illinois.....	87
White, Albert F., Portland, Ore., quoted	96
Whitfield, James, Archbishop of Baltimore, President of First Provincial Council	265
Reference to	267, 270
Relations of, to Bishop England	365
Wyoming Missions	18

ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME IX

JULY, 1926

NUMBER 1

Illinois Catholic Historical Society

617 ASHLAND BLOCK, CHICAGO

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Illinois Catholic Historical Review

Journal of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society

617 ASHLAND BLOCK, CHICAGO

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PUBLISHED BY

THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHICAGO, ILL.

CONTENTS

LIFE OF JAMES MARQUETTE	<i>Rev. Henry S. Spalding, S. J., St. Louis</i>	3
ST. STEPHEN'S MISSION	<i>Rev. D. W. Moriarty, Norfolk, Nebraska</i>	18
CHICAGO TO ST. LOUIS IN THE EARLY DAYS	<i>Rev. John Rothensteiner, St. Louis</i>	21
HEROES OF AMERICA'S ORIGINS	<i>Hon. Victor J. Dowling, New York</i>	39
RIGHT REVEREND JAMES OLIVER VAN DE VELDE, D. D.	<i>Archdiocesan Archives of St Louis</i>	56
INSTITUTIONS CONDUCTED BY THE SISTERS OF ST. FRANCIS, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS	<i>Rev. A. Zurbonsen, Springfield, Illinois</i>	71
EDITORIAL COMMENT - - - - -		84
GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS	<i>William Stetson Merrill, Chicago</i>	88
HISTORY IN THE PRESS	<i>Compiled by Teresa L. Maher, Joliet, Illinois</i>	93

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Illinois Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME IX

JULY, 1926

NUMBER 1

THE LIFE OF JAMES MARQUETTE

I. THE BIRTH PLACE AND EARLY LIFE OF MARQUETTE

The writer of this article went to Marquette College, Milwaukee, in 1888, to begin his years of teaching as a Jesuit Scholastic. In 1902 he returned to the institution, was for seven years connected with the college, and saw it grow into a university. During those years he naturally became interested in the life of the great missionary and discoverer whose name the institution bore; and contributed a number of articles to different magazines and papers on the life and career of Father Marquette. In 1911 many of these scattered papers were collected and published in the *Christian Family* (Techny, Ill.). After a diligent search we have been able to find but a single complete copy of this magazine with the articles on Marquette. Unless these papers are again published they will be lost. The editor of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW has therefore, made arrangement with Father Spalding to republish some of the articles, this being the first of the series.

In the Province of Aisne, in north central France, upon an isolated and rugged plateau, far removed from the beaten path of the tourist and sightseer, stands the ancient city of Laon, the birth-place of Marquette.

It is irregularly built in the shape of a letter L, extending in one direction about two miles and in the other about a mile and a half; its greatest width being less than half a mile. At the two extremities stand a vast cathedral and the Abbey of Saint Vincent, now used as barracks for the French soldiers. In fact most of its official buildings and hotels are of ancient date and of a religious character, and seem ill suited to the purposes to which they are applied.

Through its old chroniclers who have kept for us a faithful record of events, we can trace the history of Laon back to the time of Caesar, when it bore the Latin name of Laudunum; and farther back until its origin is lost in the twilight of fable. During the long and eventful history Laon sustained thirty-one regular sieges, its first memorable battle being against the Vandals in the fifth century. Then came Attila with his horde of barbarous Huns. At his approach the people

of the entire neighborhood fled to the city for protection. In vain did Attila batter against its walls; and one morning the Laonese were rejoiced to see the enemy in full retreat.

During the middle ages Laon saw many an army gather around its walls. For nearly a century (892-987) it was the abode of the Carolingian kings who were often forced to do battle with their powerful subjects to retain their sovereignty.

In 1419 it was taken by the English and was held by them until 1429 when the Maid of Orleans was commanding the armies of the unworthy Charles VII.

During the middle of the third century the inhabitants received the light of faith; and about the year five hundred Laon was the seat of a bishopric. From that date until the French Revolution eighty-seven bishops ruled the diocese. Their names and good deeds have been faithfully recorded for us by the pious monks of the Abbey of Saint Vincent. Four of these bishops are canonized saints;—Saint Genebaud, Saint Latro, Saint Conoald and Saint Serulpe. Laon gave to the Church three popes, the greatest of whom was Urban IV. Proud that one of their city should be raised to so exalted a dignity the citizens and Chapter of Laon sent to the new Pontiff words of congratulation. Urban responded in terms of deepest affection. "This Church," said he, "has cherished me as a mother, has fed me as a nurse, has protected me as a tutor, has instructed me as a teacher, has enriched me as a benefactor. Oh, sweet remembrances! How far from our heart was this which has come to pass! Oh, wonderful change! This same Church which was our mother has become our child; we are the shepherd of those who nourished us."

For more than two centuries the school of Laon was noted for its scholars. During the middle of the 12th Century it reached the climax of its glory under the famous Anselm who attracted students from all parts of Europe.

Like many other cities which were of considerable importance during the Middle Ages but which gradually lost their power and influence, Laon has long since been robbed of its ancient prestige; it has ceased to be a stronghold, the abode of kings, the home of scholars, the prize of ambitious suzerains. Its towers have been overthrown, its walls have crumbled and fallen away; of all its claims to glory there remains but a single monument, its grand Gothic cathedral. During those ages of faith when so many magnificent temples were raised to the honor of God, the Laonese caught the religious enthusiasm of the times and were not content until they had erected the vast cathedral which today crowns the summit of the hill. It is remark-

able for that happy combination of strength and elegance, of grandeur and delicacy so characteristic of Gothic architecture. The two main towers are unique in style, being unlike those of any church in Europe.¹

Vermand Marquette, the first of this name who is known to history, lived during the reign of Louis VII (1137-1188). He was distinguished for his services to the king; and when the city of Arras in northern France revolted against Louis and was finally subjugated, Vermand was left with forces to sustain the royal authority. James, the son of Vermand, did not imitate his father in loyalty to France; but when Philip Augustus came to the throne joined a vast confederation of feudal vassals, under Otho IV of Flanders, and fought for the dismemberment of the distracted country.²

The Countess of Flanders, however, regarded the war which her husband had waged in support of the feudal system against the king as one beneficial to the people. In order to repay James Marquette for his singular fidelity and attachment to the Count she built an abbey near Lille and gave to it the name of Marquette. Around this abbey grew up a small village which exists to our time and still bears the name given to it by the Countess of Flanders. Later James took up his abode at Laon; and from that date the name of Marquette is closely connected with the history of the city.

During the fourteenth century Edward III of England swept with his victorious army through the fair provinces of France, annexed

¹Through the kindness of the Canon of the Cathedral of Laon the writer was given a letter of introduction to M. Dolé, an entomologist and photographer living in Laon (1900). M. Dolé made the offer to send a dozen large photographs of the cathedral and city in exchange for a collection of beetles which the writer had made while studying at Woodstock, Maryland. The original photographs sent by M. Dolé are preserved at Marquette University.

²This detailed account of the Marquette family was secured for the writer by the well known Jesuit historian, Father A. Hamy, who made a special visit to Laon to collect all data available on the subject. All his expenses were paid, and he was urged to remain in Laon as long as there was any possibility of finding material. The results of his labors were gathered into two large scrap-books which are at present preserved in the archives of Marquette University. During Father Hamy's visit to Laon, one of the towers of the cathedral was being repaired; and a stone was given to him to be sent to the United States. A small part of this stone was sent by the writer to Reuben Thwaites and placed in the historical collection of the library of the University of Wisconsin. The rest of the stone is preserved at Marquette University. After his visit to Laon and the collection of the material Father Hamy wrote the life of Marquette under the title, "Au Mississippi." The book is now out of print; but two copies may be found in the St. Louis University library and one in the Marquette University library.

a third of the conquered country to his own dominions, and finally succeeded in getting possession of the person of the king, John II. During the war the Laonese had distinguished themselves by holding their city against a besieging army; and now when peace was declared they were equally loyal and devoted. Owing to a public appeal from the Mayor, James Marquette, the city contributed 24,000 francs for the ransom of the king. As a recompense for his zeal Marquette was authorized to add to his armorial shield the three marlets which the city had in its coat of arms.

During the troubled times of Henry IV when the city of Laon entered into the league against the king, Nicolas Marquette sided with the rightful ruler; and being offered the alternative of submission or exile, chose the latter. Henry appreciating the devotion and sacrifice of the magistrate, recalled him to the city and loaded him with honors.

In a series of articles contributed to the *Journal d'Aisne* (March 31,-April 7 and 14, 1900) the Abbe Palant of Cilly gives a long list of titles attached to the name Marquette and of the alliances of this family with many of the noble houses of northern France. From this list of titles and from the fact that the family possessed a coat of arms we can infer that the Marquettes enjoyed the distinctions of nobles,—an honor which they forfeited at the close of the seventeenth century by engaging in commercial enterprises. In 1720 they received from the king the privileges which they had lost and the right to bear the family armorial shield.³

But if the Marquettes were distinguished for their civic services and their loyalty to the kings of France, they were equally zealous in their devotion to the Church. While Father Marquette was laboring for the conversion of the Indians, four other members of the family were parish priests in Laon and the adjacent villages. Frances Marquette, the sister of the explorer, founded a religious Congregation for the instruction of poor girls. The history of this Congregation belongs to a later period, for it was only after the death of her brother that she conceived the idea of devoting her life and her fortune to this work of charity.

Frances converted the family residence which she had inherited, into a convent and became the first superioress of the newly established community, known as the "Soeurs Marquette." The work prospered; soon a second school was opened in Laon, and others were established in the small towns of the vicinity.

³ Copies of the article by the Abbe Palant were contained in the material sent to the writer by Father Hamy. They are preserved in the archives of Marquette University.

In the southwestern part of the city can be seen today an oblong brick building bearing the date of 1747, the old convent of the "Soeurs Marquette." It marks the place of the Marquette mansion the birth-place of our hero. The house in which Marquette was born, June 1st, 1637, was later destroyed by fire and then was replaced by the structure which stands today. Nicolas, the father, was at the time mayor of the city. His wife, Rose de la Salle, was related to Saint John Baptiste de la Salle, the Founder of the Christian Brothers. It was Adrian Niel, relative of the Marquettes, who first suggested to John Baptiste the idea of founding a religious Congregation for the education of young boys.

James was the youngest of six children, four sons and two daughters. Of his early life and education we know but little.

From his mother he imbibed in early life a tender love for the Immaculate Mother of God. In her honor he fasted each Saturday from the age of nine, and throughout his life he cherished love for Mary Immaculate. He was of a gentle, lovable character; traits which he preserved throughout his life. Even the French atheist and apostate, Raynal, the friend of Diderot and Voltaire, paused in his impious writings to pay a tribute to this devout and meek soul.

We can well imagine with what fascination the young Marquette must have read of the long series of battles connected with the history of his native city. There in the plains below, more than a thousand years before his birth the barbarous hosts of Attila and Genseric had been marshaled; against those walls of massive stone they had battered in vain with their munitions of war; there had Louis the Fat astride his great charger come to check the growing power and humble the pride of his feudal lords; there had the brave Laonese held in check the victorious army of Edward III of England; from that city had many of his ancestors gone forth to fight for the cause of their royal masters. Many were the familiar sights which recalled to his youthful fancy the wars and glorious victories of the past and to urge him to embrace a soldier's life. On the other hand there was the vast cathedral towering far above the highest citadel,⁴ raising one's mind to the thoughts of God; there were the beautiful and inspiring ceremonies of the Church which he must have so often witnessed; there was the example of other members of the family who had consecrated

⁴ In the two main towers of the Cathedral of Laon are large figures of oxen. It is claimed that the artist put the figures there to commemorate the patient work of the oxen which dragged the immense stones, used in the construction of the edifice, up the steep hill upon which the city stood. In the photographs taken by M. Dolé (see note one) these figures of the oxen stand out plainly.

their lives to God. Which path should he follow? should it be the checkered career of a soldier, or the less stirring vocation of a priest? should his life be spent on the battlefield, or devoted to the service of the altar? The youthful Marquette chose the latter vocation, and resolved to become a Jesuit.

On the 8th of October, 1654, at the early age of seventeen Marquette entered the Jesuit Novitiate at Nancy, a city of France, about 220 miles east of Paris. The training which he received there to prepare himself for his future work as a Jesuit was the same as the young candidate for the priesthood, as a member of the Society of Jesus, receives at the present day; and anyone who has the interest or the curiosity to witness for himself what this training was and is, has but to visit one of the Jesuit Novitiates in this country. The Novitiate is the house or college where the young man is admitted who aspires to become a Jesuit. None of the exercises there are in secret, or of a nature that requires secrecy. Here anyone for the asking may witness the daily routine of the life of a young Jesuit; or if he has not the time or inclination to visit one of these Jesuit houses he will find in the history of the Society a full description of these daily exercises.

We mention these facts here so that they who wish to know the truth about the Society of Jesus may have the opportunity to seek such information from the proper sources, and not receive without personal investigation the statements of such writers as Macaulay and Parkman. We can excuse Macaulay since he did not write sober history; but Parkman can offer no palliation but that of the blind and prejudiced writer who deliberately closes his eyes to the truth. He had access to the Jesuit archives and as he himself acknowledges in his preface to his "Jesuits in North America," was kindly received by the members of the Order who gave him every assistance in their power to acquaint himself with their manner of living. Yet this writer after enjoying every opportunity to arrive at the truth, blindly closed his eyes to the light of facts and gave an entirely wrong conception of the Jesuits. True he interlards his writings with words of praise and esteem for the missionaries; but this Order can never feel grateful to him, since he has in so many ways misrepresented that especially which it cherishes and which every man cherishes above all else,—the motives of one's actions.

The object for which the Society of Jesus was instituted was "The greater Glory of God" (*Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*); hence the first duty of the young Jesuit is to acquire habits of virtue that he may train and guide others. His two years of novitiate or the first two

he spends after entering the Order are devoted almost exclusively to spiritual exercises. Once he has left the world and entered the novitiate doors, he is not ordinarily permitted to visit his family or relatives; his whole time must be given to God. Even his time of vacation consists not in rest, but only in a change of labor. He rises at five and spends two full hours in prayer. Breakfast over the daily exercises begin. To the novice is assigned all the menial work of the house; he sweeps, assists in the kitchen and dining-room, cleans the lamps, dusts and arranges the rooms of visitors, works in the garden or the laundry. But no exercise is left to his own choice, each day his task is assigned to him; it is to be accomplished in silence unless necessity requires him to speak. In performing this work the novice sets before himself the example of his Divine Master who spent the greater part of his life with His foster father in the workshop of a carpenter, thus ennobling human labor.

Manual labor is followed by spiritual exercises, such as prayer, pious reading, and examination of conscience. The novice must be prepared to be corrected and reprovved for his faults either in private or before his companions. Above all he must be trained in obedience; he must look on his superior as holding the place of Christ, must obey him as such, and must receive from him the proper guidance for his progress in the spiritual life. Parkman has characterized these exercises as a "horrible violence to the noblest qualities of manhood." If this is true, then the same must be said of the life at West Point, for the obedience practised and enforced there is, to say the least, as strict as with the Jesuits; while the daily routine of duty is more severe. If it is necessary to train those who are to carry the flag, it is equally urgent to discipline those who are to be soldiers of the Cross; and the success of the Jesuits during three centuries proves the efficiency of their methods.

The first two years of Marquette's life as a Jesuit were, with few exceptions, like the daily routine which we have just described; still there were some customs then in vogue which have been changed or modified to suit the exigencies and wants of the times. Such, for instance was the pilgrimage which the novice was then accustomed to make. For a whole month he begged his way from village to village, while at the same time he visited the shrines and places of devotion which he passed along the way. This practice has never been introduced in the houses of the Jesuits in the United States; nor are the novices sent to work in the hospitals as they were in the countries in Europe.

It is usual for the young Jesuit after completing his two years as a novice to spend two more in the study of literature; but the young Marquette was sent at once to the college of Pont-a-Mousson for his course in Philosophy which lasted three years. In 1659 we find him a professor at the Jesuit college in Rheims, where he taught two years. Here he was not far from his native town of Laon and in the midst of many friends and relatives of his mother who was from Rheims. During the three succeeding years he taught at Chareville, Langres and Pont-a-Mousson.

The youthful Marquette does not seem to have been satisfied with the work of the classroom; there were other labors of the Order which were equally important, but which offered a wider field for his zeal and energy. He longed to become a missionary and devote his life to the salvation of heathen nations. The Jesuit never chooses his own field of labor, but he may manifest his wishes especially if the post which he seeks is one of hardship and danger. Then the superior, if he judges the aspirant capable of performing the task, may assign him to it as he thinks best for the general good.

We have already seen how Marquette was exempted from the two years of study which immediately follow the novitiate; so again when he completed his term of regency as a young professor and began his course of Theology as an immediate preparation for the priesthood, his studies were curtailed. Instead of the four years generally devoted to Theology he gave but a single year. At the completion of this year he was ordained to the holy priesthood. After a short delay he sailed for Canada to begin his work as a missionary; a work of nine years; a work of hardships and privations which gradually weakened his strength until finally he succumbed to it at the early age of thirty-nine.

II. THE FIRST MISSION

It was on the twentieth of September, 1666, that Father James Marquette landed at Quebec. His was the seventh of the eight ships which had come from France to Canada during the year. The city at that time was divided into two parts,—one consisting of the straggling wharves and hamlets close to the waters' edge, and the other of the public buildings, schools and churches within the fortifications high above the river.

The young missionary was given a few days of respite after the long voyage. No doubt he brought many messages from beyond the seas, and in turn listened to the thrilling accounts of his religious brethren of their work of converting the natives.

On the tenth of October he departed for Three Rivers, a small settlement half way between Quebec and Montreal, receiving its name from the fact that a little stream, which here debouched into the St. Lawrence, was divided at its mouth by islands giving it the appearance of three separate rivers. Here in the midst of a motly crowd of trappers and Indians, Father Druillettes had lived for six years; but he had spent more than twenty-four years in Canada. He had lived among the Abenakis in the present State of Maine, and had visited the British settlements in Massachusetts to ask the French and English to combine their forces against the Iroquois. He acquired the various Indian dialects so rapidly and accurately that it seemed miraculous; and savages and French alike listened with astonishment to his sermons and conversations in the rude tongues. He drew the hearts of all to him by his unbounded charity and edified all by his abstemious life. Such was the first preceptor of Marquette. He proved himself a worthy disciple, not only mastering the Algonquin language, but learning to converse fluently in six different Indian dialects.

Three Rivers had been a post for fur traders as early as 1615. Champlain converted it into a military post in 1634; and although it boasted a moat and small garrison, it was but poorly protected against the attacks of the Iroquois, who succeeded in capturing it twice. Most of the houses were of bark or thatch and even the pallisades of dry poles offered a tempting mark for the fire brands of the enemy. It was on the highway which connected the Indian settlements of the West with Quebec and also the outposts of Huron Bay. As many as four hundred Ottawas arrived at one time with their rich furs. From this mission Druillettes made long excursions as far east as Tadousac and to the north as far as Huron Bay. We have several letters from the senior missionary about these excursions, but in none of them does he mention the name of Marquette. We must conclude that the latter was left to take care of the natives and French at the mission and to pursue his studies of the different languages.

Marquette remained at Three Rivers nearly two years, being recalled to Quebec in the spring of 1668, where he learned that his superiors had decided to send him to the Ottawa missions. This was a general term applied to more than thirty different tribes dwelling along the great lakes; for as the Ottawas were the first to come to Quebec all those who followed were called by that name. Marquette left Quebec on the 21st of April for Montreal, where he awaited the Indian flotilla which was to bear him westward.

When Father Marquette entered upon his work in the Ottawa missions there were three stations along the Great Lakes; one at Sault de Ste. Marie; a second, called St. Francis Xavier's, at the extremity of Green Bay; and a third, the Holy Spirit, at La Pointe on the southwestern shore of Lake Superior near the present city of Ashland, Wisconsin. (Rel. V. 52, p. 213)

After laboring for a year with Father Dablon at the Sault, Marquette was called to the more arduous task of instructing the different tribes at La Pointe.

The distance from his mission at Sault de Ste. Marie to his new field of labor at La Pointe was by water and at least four hundred miles. It is all but incredible to think of navigating Lake Superior in the small, treacherous canoes used by the trappers and missionaries. The writer has often stood overlooking this lake when the wind was calm; but even then the restless waves seemed to bid defiance to smaller craft. In this voyage Marquette passed the famous Pictured Rocks of sandstone; but perhaps he was too far from shore to note the fantastic shapes carved by nature along the rocky eminences. In the early part of the voyage the priest and his companions no doubt diversified their frugal repasts by gathering delicate thimble-berries and wild cherries. When the frost fell they could feast in the patches of hazel nuts. The whole country was one impervious growth of pine trees, while beds of ferns covered the rocky ground where larger vegetation could not find soil for subsistence.

In viewing this long stretch of shore line today the tourist must be impressed by the wildness of nature. True it is that man has cut a path through the pines for the iron horse, has built great lumber yards at Baraga, has constructed docks at the cities of Marquette and Duluth, has dug deep into the earth for copper at Calumet and for iron in many an inland town, has raised shafts and furnaces, and stamping mills—all this he has done; but when the boat or train leaves the city, or mine, or lumber camp, nature resumes her sway; deer roam through thickest forest, and wolves and bears are hunted and trapped. Nor has the red man disappeared from the scene; Indian boys fish from cumbersome boats, patient Indian girls mend fishing nets for their elders, or gather raspberries for travellers and tourists, while both men and women are engaged in primitive methods of agriculture. But above all the great inland sea has resisted all the power and domination of man, and many a gigantic steamer battles for life where the frail boat of the missionary glided on its westward course towards La Pointe.

Marquette reached the mission on the 13th of September, 1669. The Indians were absent from the village gathering corn and pumpkins in the fields. The man of action did not wait for their return, but went at once to join them in their work. He found the community divided into five tribes. The Hurons, who were nominal Christians, were the first to enjoy his ministrations. They were sorely grieved when they learned that Allouez would not return to them, but acknowledged that they deserved this treatment on account of their indifference to religion.

Here was assembled a motley throng indeed; the wandering Hurons driven from their former abodes by the Iroquois, the dignified Miamis, the fierce Dacotas, the friendly and interesting Illinois,—remnants of once mighty tribes and nations, who were yet to play a role in the Indian wars of North America; whose descendents were to rally around the greatest of all chiefs, Pontiac, to burn the peaceful Wyoming, and scalp the followers of Braddock. That valiant and pioneer missionary, Father Allouez, had begun the work of evangelization at La Pointe, but the superstitious practices and fickleness of the Indians had proved an almost insurmountable obstacle to the progress of Christianity. Recalled after three years of labor to the Mission of Saint Francis Xavier at the head of Green Bay, Allouez took this occasion to remind the Indians of their infidelity. Meeting the principal men of the tribe in a council, he informed them of his intended departure. He recalled to them his labor and sacrifices of three long years in their behalf; and pointed out that only a few women and children had consented to pray to God. He would go away to other tribes where the fruit of conversion seemed more promising. He paused in his speech and removed the shoes from his feet; he would take nothing with him, not even the dust that clung to his shoes. He shook the dust before them and departed abruptly from the council. This dramatic action had its desired effect, and detained by accident in the village, Allouez witnessed a remarkable change in the conduct of the Indians, so remarkable indeed that he attributed it to a special grace of God. Polygamy was abolished, and superstitious ceremonies were discontinued. Many of the Indians who lived at some distance from the chapel took up their abode closer to the mission to be able to attend services regularly, and to give their wives and children an opportunity to receive instruction. While Allouez was pleased with this sudden change in his hitherto tardy neophytes, nevertheless the time had come for him to go to the new Mission of Saint Francis Xavier, at the upper end of Green Bay.

Before departing, however, he promised to send another Black Robe to take his place. (Rel. V. 43, p. 296)

The Ottawas, he reported, were very far from the kingdom of God, for they were given to indecencies, pagan sacrifices, and juggleries; prayer they ridiculed and would not listen to Marquette's explanation of the Christian religion. Still the missionary had the consolation of witnessing the fervor and fidelity of two aged warriors, one of whom led so innocent a life in the midst of universal corruption that even the missionary wondered at the power of grace by which he baffled temptation and human respect.

It required more than zeal, this work of the Jesuit. On one occasion he walked boldly in the midst of the orgies of the medical men who were trying to cure a sick squaw, reproved them for their indecencies, and sent the young people away to their cabins with the command to return no more to such superstitious rites and dances; whereupon an old and influential chief arose and joined with the missionary in rebuking those present. To satisfy the wishes of the sick woman the objectional rites were changed into a dance or children's game. The medical men did not seek revenge for this loss of authority; still the missionary knew not what hour the stroke of the tomahawk would be his rework for so bold an act.

But it was the Kiskakons whose lives were the greatest consolation to Marquette at this distant mission post. They had felt most the rebukes and departure of Father Allouez and now hailed with boisterous delight the coming of another Black Robe to their village. They would not fail this time to listen to the words of the missionary, for, if they did, he too would shake the dust from his feet and depart from them. Then, there was the friendship and protection of the French if only they were docile to the teachings of this new emissary. The head chief hastened to throw down a pole at the entrance of his cabin where sacrifices of dogs had been offered to the sun; infants were baptized, and adults were faithful in prayer. As the priest lived in the cabin of one of the neophytes he sought to repay the kindness of this Indian by special instructions, teaching him the beautiful devotions of the Church, and especially that of the guardian angel whose commission it was to keep one from sin. The simple savage listened with eager delight to stories of the powers of this heavenly messenger, and affirmed that on one occasion, when he was tempted to sin, an invisible power struck him and warned him that he was a Christian. Another source of edification to both pagans and Christians was the virtuous lives of the Christian women. Thus passed the winter of 1669 with its disappointments and its

consolations. Marquette makes no mention in his long letter of his own sufferings and privations; but, living as he did in the rude, reed hut of a savage and sharing his coarse meals of fish and sagamite, the life must have been a severe trial upon his delicate constitution.

As spring approached, the several tribes prepared to hunt and fish. The Christians received parting words of advice and promised to return early in the fall, to resume the study of religion and attend services in the little chapel.

And now we come to a most important event in the life of Marquette, one that was to shape the course of his life work and to associate his name forever with the history of the Middle West. To his mission at La Pointe, on the bleak shore of a northern lake, came the Illinois Indians from their distant wigwams in the south. An Indian whom he had instructed gave to him a little slave belonging to that tribe. From the lisping lips of the untutored boy the missionary learned something of the Illinois language; from the visiting Illinois he learned strange stories of a great river and populous tribes far away to the south. We must note these facts here for the information is most complete and will help to throw much light on that vexed question as to the priority of discovery of the Mississippi. This was in the winter of 1669, three years before Joliet received his commission from the Canadian Governor to find the great river.

Many of the Illinois spent the winter at the mission, and while Marquette learned the language he at the same time garnered what information he could in regard to the distant tribes of the south. In fact, while his principal work was to minister to the souls of the savages, he was zealous in ethnological researches. From one of the traditions narrated to him he concluded that a faint knowledge of the Tower of Babel had been preserved by the savages. He was careful to mark on a map the exact location of all the villages both pagan and Christian; but as most of these tribes played but an insignificant part in the history and even the wars of the times, it would scarcely seem expedient to chronicle them. Yet the student will be thankful to Marquette for the knowledge which was gleaned.

The information which Marquette gathered and wrote down at this early date in regard to the Illinois is so accurate and minute that his account reads like the report of one who had returned from a recent tour through the country. It must have required painstaking and persevering labor indeed to have garnered such information from the savages with whose language he was but slightly acquainted.

“The Illinois,” he writes, “sow maize which they have in great quantity; they have pumpkins as large as those of France and plenty of roots and fruit. The chase is very abundant in wild-cattle, bears, stags, turkeys, ducks, bustards, wild-pigeons, and cranes. They leave their towns at certain times every year to go to their hunting grounds together, so to be able to defend themselves if attacked. They believe that I will spread peace everywhere if I go, and then only the young will go to hunt.

“When the Illinois come to La Pointe they pass a large river almost a league wide. It runs north and south, and so far that the Illinois, who do not know what a canoe is, have not yet heard any mention of its mouth; they only know that there are very great nations below them, some of whom raise every year two crops of maize. East-south-east of their country is a nation called Chaouanou; some of this tribe came here to visit last summer. They wear glass beads which shows that they have had intercourse with Europeans; they had come overland a journey of thirty days before reaching the country. This great river can hardly flow through Virginia, and we rather think that its mouth is in California. If the Indians who promised to make me a canoe do not break their word we shall go into this river as soon as we can with a Frenchman and the Indian boy given to me; he knows some of their languages and has a readiness for learning others. We shall visit the nations who inhabit it in order to open the way for so many of our Fathers who have so long awaited this happiness. This discovery will give us a complete knowledge of the southern or western sea. . . .

“Six or seven days below the Illinois is another great river on which are prodigious nations who use wooden canoes; we cannot write more until next year, if God does us the grace to lead us there. The Illinois are warriors; they make many slaves whom they sell to the Ottawas for guns, powder, kettles, axes and knives.” (Rel. V. 54, pp. 169-195)

Marquette heard not only of the Illinois but of other populous inland tribes. There were the Kechigamis living in more than twenty large cabins and most anxious to trade with the French for knives and axes and ironware. So desirous were they of becoming friends and allies of the French that they unbound two Illinois captives on the simplest statement of the latter that they were friends of the white man. To the southwest are the Nadouessi whom Marquette compares to the fierce Iroquois, but describes them as being less perfidious and willing to make war only when attacked by their enemies.

Their villages were numerous but widely scattered; they sat solemn and silent at their feasts and fed their visitors with wild oats.

Still farther to the west were the Assinapouars in whose country was the source of a river that flowed towards the setting sun. Here, it will be noted, Marquette hears of the streams which flow into the Pacific Ocean, for one of the visitors told him that far away on this stream he had seen Europeans with ships and sails. He finally decided to return with the Illinois as soon as the weather was favorable for travelling. His Huron and Kiskakon Christians would be absent from the mission during the spring and summer months on their fishing and hunting expeditions; this time then could be spent on his expedition to the south. He would explore the country, visit the tribes, and open up new fields of action for fellow missionaries. His resolve was taken. Everything pointed to the absolute success of the expedition. There were the Illinois guides who had traversed the entire way and who could lead him to the great river, to the populous tribes. He appealed to his Hurons and they promised to make a canoe for the expedition—not one of the lumbering dugouts which was propelled laboriously by sail and oar; but the swift and shapely canoe of birch bark which glided like a duck over the northern streams and lakes. Then a Frenchman promised to accompany him; we hope that it was the faithful Pierre who was to kneel by the side of the dying missionary on the far off eastern shore of Lake Michigan. Marquette sent word to the pagan tribes south of the mission notifying them that he would soon pass through their village on his way to the Illinois, he explained to them the object of his journey, and that the French wished to establish universal peace among all the tribes. Finally Marquette sent a delegation of the Illinois to announce his speedy arrival in their land and to bring the elders of the tribes to meet the Black Robe who came to them as the envoy of the Great Spirit.

But three years were to pass before Marquette would gaze upon the great river of the New World and smoke the calumet in the wigwam of the Illinois.

HENRY S. SPALDING, S. J.

ST. STEPHEN'S MISSION, WYOMING

The following personal recollections contributed to the REVIEW are from the pen of the Reverend D. W. Moriarty, pioneer Wyoming priest still engaged in the ministry as pastor of Sacred Heart Church, Norfolk, Madison Co., Nebraska. They are of distinct historical value, supplying as they do some hitherto entirely unknown data regarding the establishment of St. Stephen's Indian Mission and the part taken by the secular clergy in that important event in the history of Wyoming Catholicism. It is hoped that Father Moriarty will compile more detailed reminiscences of the pioneer ecclesiastical developments, "quarum pars magna fuit."—*Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.*

In 1882 Rt. Rev. James O'Connor was Vicar Apostolic of the Vicariate of Nebraska, which comprised the State of Nebraska and the territory of Wyoming.

He was especially interested in the Indians of the Vicariate.

Previous to this time the policy of the U. S. Government, in regard to the spiritual interests of the Indian, had been to permit only *one* denomination to work on any one particular reservation. All other denominations were excluded. But this was soon found to be unjust, both to the Indian and to the other churches, and, was so changed that any denomination could take up the work whenever they desired.

In the Shoshone and Arrapahoe Indian reservation in Wyoming an Episcopalian minister had been laboring for a few years.

Bishop O'Connor earnestly wished to send a priest to take up the work. He negotiated with the Jesuits of the Province of St. Louis who promised to send help, but were unable to begin at that time.

Therefore, in order to begin the good work, and to break the ground, in July, 1882, the Bishop appointed, as the first missionary on the reservation, Rev. D. W. Moriarty, a young priest just ordained at Laval University, Quebec, Canada.

Early in the month Father Moriarty arrived in Lander, where he had been ordered to take up his residence, and from there to work among the Indians on the neighboring reservation. Knowing that, up to this time, the Episcopalians had enjoyed exclusive rights to this work, Father Moriarty's first move was to apply in writing to the Interior Department at Washington for official permission to do mission work among the Indians.

The permission was readily granted, with the admonition to be careful not to conflict in any way with the existing missionary on the reservation.

It was fortunate that Father Moriarty had applied for this permission immediately on his arrival at Lander, because as was fully proven later, the day after the Department had forwarded the permission, it received a letter from the reservation protesting against the Catholic priest working among the Indians, but permission had already been sent, and the Department ignored the protest.

On the reservation there were two tribes of Indians, the Shoshone and Arraphoe, about equally divided in numbers.

Father Moriarty soon found it next to impossible to accomplish much with the Shoshones. They lived on the western part of the reservation where was established the U. S. Military post, Fort Washakie, and the Indian Agency, where also the Episcopalian minister had taken up his residence and where too within a year after the arrival of Father Moriarty, a government school was established and given over to the care of the Episcopal Church.

The Arrapahoe tribe lived on the eastern portion of the reservation settled in small groups principally along the banks of the rivers, and existed entirely by fishing, hunting and a small annuity from the government.

The largest group, headed by the famous old chief Black Coal, were established about 25 miles down the valley from Lander near the junction of the Big and Little Popogia Rivers.

It was here that Father Moriarty after many tribulations, and negotiations with the government, finally decided to build a school for the Indians, and early in the year 1884 proposed to Bishop O'Connor to begin building in the spring of that year.

The necessary funds had been promised beforehand by Miss Katharine Drexel of Philadelphia.

But about this same time the Jesuits informed the Rt. Rev. Bishop that they were ready to fulfill their promise of taking over the missionary work on the reservation. Accordingly the Bishop requested Father Moriarty to delay building, and to await the arrival of a Jesuit father.

Rev. John Jutz, S. J., arrived in Lander early in May, 1884. Father Moriarty remained with him for six weeks, assisting him to become acquainted with the Indians and with the work among them. He then returned to Omaha, leaving the Jesuits established on the ground, where, later on, were erected the buildings of St. Stephen's Mission.

LANDER, WYOMING

While Father Moriarty was working on the Indian reservation he made his headquarters at Lander, Wyoming. In order to reach

Lander it was necessary to travel by stage coach from Green River on the U. P. R. R. about 125 miles south. The North-Western R. R. at that time had reached hardly half way across the state of Nebraska, so that in all Northern Wyoming about the only white settlement was at Lander. It was a village of about a hundred inhabitants, and there were hardly another hundred settlers within a radius of one hundred and twenty-five miles.

The first thing necessary was a place in which could be offered the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and where the people could be brought together. There was only one two-storied building in the village, the upper story being used by the Masons, and the lower story for gatherings of all kinds, principally for dances.

In the renting of this building was shown the hand of the enemy wishing to obstruct the efforts of the Catholics. For, within an hour of the time that Father Moriarty applied for the use of the building, a delegation waited upon the owner requesting that the Catholics be not allowed to rent it. But Mr. J. K. Moore, the owner, was a fair-minded man, and, indignant at such a request, rented the lower story of the building to Father Moriarty, as long as he wanted it, for the exclusive use of his congregation.

In the rear of this story there were two small rooms in which Father Moriarty lived for about eight months. During this time, whenever his duties toward the Indians would permit, he was collecting for and building a church.

A location was soon donated and about \$1,200.00 easily raised by subscription. This seemed so encouraging to Father Moriarty that he immediately drew his own plans and let a contract for \$2,100.00 for the erection of the little stone church, which has ever since supplied the needs of the congregation. All the stone necessary was hauled by friends, both Catholic and non-catholic, from the neighboring mountains. The lumber was supplied from a very primitive little saw-mill far up in the foothills.

In the month of December, 1882, a three days' fair was held, at which the sum of \$1,812.00 was raised. This enabled the congregation to furnish the church completely inside, to provide a bell for the tower, and to add two small rooms to the rear of the church.

These rooms, besides being used as a sacristy, were occupied as a residence by the pastor for many years.

REV. D. W. MORIARTY.

Norfolk, Nebraska.

FROM CHICAGO TO ST. LOUIS IN THE EARLY DAWN OF WESTERN HISTORY

As the crowning glory of Chicago's Catholic days, the Eucharistic Congress has taken its important place in history, it may be well to cast a glance backwards to the days when our Eucharistic Lord found an acceptable dwelling place, though a most humble one, on the site of the great city, then a tangled wilderness, now the cynosure of all Catholic eyes throughout the world.

It may be of interest also to learn that the noble priest who was responsible for that ever memorable event, Father Francis Pinet, S. J., found his last field of labor and his hallowed place of rest within the confines of the city of St. Louis.

The Catholic history of Chicago, as a series of well connected events, really opens with the coming of the St. Louis priest John Mary Irenaeus St. Cyr, and the establishment of the church of St. Mary's in 1833. But more than one and a quarter century before that auspicious day a regular establishment of the Society of Jesus had been placed among the Miami Indians along the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan, at that time known as the Lake of the Illinois.¹ There were really two villages of the Miami, both however attended by one missionary, the Jesuit Father Francis Pinet. The exact location of this second oldest Indian mission in Illinois is still a debatable question. Some authorities, like Frank R. Groves, contend for the "North Shore," others, like Milo Milton Quaife, for the heart of the city between the two branches of the Chicago River; others again, like J. G. Shea, leave the matter in abeyance, calling the place by the general term of the Chicago mission. Indeed, the present city of Chicago is extensive enough to take in any place along the Michigan shore that could, with any kind of probability, claim to be the site of Father Pierre François Pinet's Mission of the Guardian Angel. The probabilities, however, are strongly in favor of the Chicago River site, as maintained by Milo Milton Quaife in his "Chicago and the Old Northwest."

At the time of Father Marquette's voyage of discovery the Miami Indians were in possession of the territory between Lakes Erie and Michigan. One of their principal villages was at the mouth of the

¹ Father Marest writes to Father Germon that "Lake Michigan was named on the maps Lake Illinois without any reason since there are no Illinois who dwell in its vicinity." *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 66, p. 283.

St. Joseph's River, where Father Claude Aveneau resided as missionary as early as 1690. The Miami bands of Father Pinet had probably come around the southern border of Lake Michigan, and formed their villages on the Chicago River. Owing to the constant inroads of the Iroquois on the Indians of the North, the Potawatomi migrated to the territory bordering on the southern shore of Lake Michigan, from Chicago on the west to St. Joseph's on the east, the Miamis receding to the Wabash. There was a Potawatomi Mission on the St. Joseph River under Father John B. Chardon, as early as 1711. But at the end of the seventeenth century the Miami still held their original seats on both shores of the lake. It was in 1696 that the Mission of the Guardian Angel was founded in the two villages of the Miami, in what is now the city of Chicago. The founder and only missionary of this mission, Father Peter François Pinet, was born at Limoges in France, December 11, 1661, or November 11, 1660,² and entered the Jesuit Novitiate at Bourdeaux, August 29, 1682. He arrived in Canada in 1694. "I have seen Father Pinette, who has come out from our province," wrote Father Chaucetiere from Ville-Marie. "He is quite well, and remained only six days at Quebec. He came up at once, remained two days at Montreal, and went to a place 500 leagues from here. We are greatly edified by his zeal and abnegation. He experienced some of the trials of a missionary's life while coming to Ville-Marie in the barks; for the winds were contrary all the time, and they made only fourteen leagues in fifteen days,—amid constant rain, and lodged *sub dio*,—the usual sign for lodgings in Canada. He gave me some news from the province, and left me with a keen desire to learn more."³

From Michillimackinac Father Pinet was sent southward in 1696 to found the mission at Chicago. The first Bishop of Quebec, Francis de Laval, had entrusted the missions among the Illinois, Miamis and Sioux to the Jesuits; but his successor, Bishop Vallier, conferred upon the Gentlemen of the Seminary of Quebec⁴ the spiritual care of certain Indian tribes that were already assigned to the Jesuit Fathers.

² The *Jesuit Relations* give two dates and two places of birth of Father Pinet: Limoges, December 11, 1661, and Perigeux, November 11, 1660.

³ *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 68, p. 147. Both Fathers Chauchetiere and Pinet came from the Jesuit Province of Aquitaine.

⁴ "The Gentlemen of the Seminary of Quebec" was the usual designation of a missionary society established by Francis Laval de Montmorency, first bishop of Quebec. The official title was "The Society of the Foreign Missions." The mother-house was at Paris. In Quebec the Seminary was under its rule. It was no religious order but a society of secular priests intended for the missions in foreign countries.

Count Frontenac, the Governor General of New France, was a man of deep faith, but of a proud, domineering disposition. His quarrels with the saintly Bishop Laval, with the Jesuits, and even with the Sulpicians at last moved the Grand Monarque to recall him. Father Pinet was among the innocent victims of these ecclesiastical misunderstandings and governmental persecutions. For hardly had he begun his apostolic labors among the Miami Indians, when he was ordered out of Church and house by Frontenac. Why this was done does not appear: perhaps the gentle missionary had in his eagerness for the conversion of souls, forgotten to obtain a passport to his mission, as was required by ordinance.⁵ But Bishop Laval was still among the living, and still a power to be reckoned with, though he had resigned his bishopric of Quebec. To Bishop Laval then Father James Gravier, the Superior of the Illinois Missions, addressed himself, protesting against the unwarranted act of the Governor. Thanking the old saintly man for the kindness shown the missionaries and their Superior in particular, Father Gravier continues: "If Monseigneur of Quebec (the present bishop) has the same sentiments for us, as we all hope, we shall perform our duties in our Outaouas Missions more peacefully than we have done for some years, we shall also be safe from the threats of Monsieur the Count de Frontenac to drive us from our missions, as he has already done from that of l'ange Gardien of the Miamis, at Chicago,—the charge of which Monseigneur of Quebec had confided to me, by his patents⁶ giving me the care of the Missions to the Illinois, Miamis and Sioux, and confirming the powers that Your Grace had conferred upon Father Marquette and Father Allouez, who were the first missionaries to those Southern nations. If Monsieur the Count de Frontenac had learned that in our Missions we had done anything unworthy of our ministry, he could easily have applied to Monseigneur the Bishop or to his Grand Vicar. But he could not otherwise than by violence drive us from our Mission of Chicagwa, and we hope that Monseigneur of Quebec will not suffer such violence, which is so prejudicial to his authority. And if Your Grace will be good enough to speak to him of it, he will reinstate and confirm Father Pinet in his

⁵ Father Pinet is said to have incurred the enmity of certain persons by strongly inveighing against the introduction of strong drink among the Indians. Count Frontenac considered this kind of trade too important to be suppressed at the request of the missionaries.

⁶ Patent, or letters patent, means an open letter granting certain rights and privileges.

mission, that he may there continue his duties, which he has so auspiciously begun.”⁷

In consequence of the protest Father Pinet was reinstated in his mission of the Guardian Angel. In January, 1699, Father Julien Binneteau, who was then Father Gabriel Marest's assistant in the Mission of the Immaculate Conception among the Kaskaskias and Peorias on the Illinois River, gives us the following information concerning Father Pinet's movements. "There is another missionary sixty leagues from here, who comes to see us every winter. He comes from the province of Guyenne, and his name is Father Pinet. If you knew him I would tell you more about him. He has had the happiness of sending to Heaven the soul of the famous Chief Peouris, and those of several jugglers; and he has attracted to our chapels various persons who, through their fervor, are patterns to the village.”⁸

The reason for these repeated visits of Father Pinet to the Mission on the Illinois River, may be found in the fact that his own neophytes were absent from home until about Christmas, when they would return from their hunting excursions, on which he felt unable to accompany them. Besides there was good to be done among the Kaskaskias and Peorias as the mention of Chief Peourias' conversion would indicate. We may well imagine with what glad anticipations Father Pinet and his servant at the approach of winter left their lonely house in the deserted village on the Chicago River and, paddling up-stream to the portage⁹ of the Desplaines River, carried their canoes across, and then floating down the quiet waters until they joined the Illinois River and on its broad expanse, drifted along the beautiful scenes that met their gaze, until they found themselves among their hospitable brethren at the fort on Peoria Lake. Count Frontenac's anger was now no longer to be feared: but a new danger threatened the Mission of the Guardian Angel at Chicago, the proposed migration of the Indians to the more sheltered and more secure regions along the Wabash and its tributaries. The plan had not as yet assumed definite form, when a party of three new missionaries from the Seminary of Quebec arrived at Chicago. They were the Fathers de Montigny, St. Cosme and Davion, members of

⁷ *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 65, p. 53.

⁸ *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 65, p. 71.

⁹ A portage is a pathway between two navigable rivers or streams, heading in opposite directions, over which the canoes had to be carried. At this time of trackless forests and prairies the rivers were the doors and the portages the keys to the continent.

the Society of the Foreign Missions, engaged in an exploring expedition to the Mississippi and the south. The ever-faithful friend of La Salle, the Italian de Tonty, was in their company as guide and protector. The party was a large one, comprising about twenty men.¹⁰ They had come over the Great Lakes to Michillimackinac, where they paid their respects to Fathers Gravier and Carreil. About this visit Father Gravier wrote as follows to Bishop Vallier of Quebec: "I acknowledge, Monseigneur, that Father de Careil and myself are charmed with the good judgment, the zeal, and the modesty that Monsieur de Montigny, Monsieur St. Cosme, and Monsieur Davion have displayed in the conferences that we have had together during the seven days that they spent here. We acted and we always spoke together with the same frankness as if we had always lived together; and we beg Your Grace to believe that we omit nothing that may confirm it. . . . I told them that it was not advisable to make known that it was Monsieur de Tonty who introduced them to the Arkansa; for they would pass as his envoys, and that Monsieur de Montigny himself must speak to them through his interpreter. He did not give me time to compose a short speech in Illinois as an introduction. Father Binneteau, who knows the customs of the savages as well as I do, will do it better than I can. He, as well as Father Pinet at Chicagwa, will do themselves the pleasure of rendering them every kind of service."

Owing to bad weather the three gentlemen from the Seminary landed a few miles north of the Mission of the Angel Guardian and leaving the rest of the company by the lake-shore, made their way on foot to the home of Father Pinet. From here on Father St. Cosme is the spokesman of the party: "Many travellers have already been wrecked there. We, Monsieur de Montigny, Davion, and myself, went by land to the house of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, while our people remained behind. We found there Reverend Father Pinet, and Reverend Father Binneteau, who had recently arrived from the Illinois country and was slightly ill."¹²

The joy of priests meeting priests in the deep solitude of earliest Chicago was great and sincere. "I cannot describe to you, my lord, with what cordiality and manifestations of friendship these Reverend Fathers received and embraced us while we had the consolation of

¹⁰ Father Thamer de la Source was not with the company, but a voyageur of that name was. The priest Thamer arrived at Cahokia at a later date and acted as interpreter at the Indian assembly at Cahokia in 1723.

¹¹ *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 65, p. 59.

¹² Voyage of St. Cosme, in *Early Narration of the Northwest*, p. 346.

residing with them," wrote Father St. Cosme, and then proceeded to give a clear and succinct description of the place. "Their house is built on the bank of a small river, with the lake on one side and a fine and vast prairie on the other. The village of the savages contains over a hundred and fifty cabins, and a league up the river is still another village almost as large. They are all Miamis. Reverend Father Pinet usually resides there except in the winter, when the savages are all engaged in hunting, and then he goes to the Illinois. We saw no savages there. They had already started for their hunt. If one may judge of the future from the short time Father Pinet has passed in this mission, we may believe that, if God will bless the labors and the zeal of that holy missionary, there will be a great number of good and fervent Christians. It is true, that but slight results are obtained with reference to the older persons, who are hardened in profligacy, but all the children are baptized, and the jugglers even, who are the most opposed to Christianity, allow their children to be baptized. They are also very glad to let them be instructed. Several girls of a certain age, and also many young boys have already been and are being instructed, so that we may hope that, when the old stock dies off, they will be a new and entirely Christian people."¹³

The entire party left Chicago for the Illinois country, but a part of their belongings had to remain behind in care of Brother Alexander and Father Pinet's servant. When they came to the portage of the Kankakee River, the party was divided by an untoward circumstance, as recorded by Father St. Cosme.

"Messieurs de Montigny, de Tonty, and Davion continued the portage on the following day, while I with four other men went back to look for the little boy (who had wandered away into the prairie). While retracing my steps, I met Father Pinet and Binneteau, who were on the way to the Illinois with two Frenchmen and a savage. We looked for the boy during the whole of that day also without finding him. We arrived on the 15th of November at the place called the Old Fort.¹⁴ This is a rock on the bank of the river, about a hundred feet high, whereon Monsieur de La Salle had caused a fort to be built, which has been abandoned, because the savages went to reside about twenty-five leagues further down. We slept a league above it, where we found two cabins of savages; we were consoled on finding a woman who was a thoroughly good Chris-

¹³ *Early Narration of the Northwest*, p. 346, sq.

¹⁴ The "Old Fort" is the fort built on Starved Rock by de Tonty at the order of La Salle.

tian. The distance between Chicagou and the fort is considered to be about thirty leagues. There we commenced the navigation, that continues to be always good as far as the fort of Permetaoui, where the savages now are and which we reached on the 19th of November. We found there Reverend Father Binneteau and Reverend Father Marest who, owing to their not being laden when they left Chicagou, had arrived six or seven days before us. We also saw Reverend Father Pinet there. All the Reverend Jesuit Fathers gave us the best possible reception. Their sole regret was to see us compelled to leave so soon on account of the frost. We took there a Frenchman who had lived three years with the Acanscas and who knows a little of their language.’¹⁵

The original site of the Kaskaskia Mission of the Immaculate Conception founded by Father Marquette was at the foot of the Old Fort of St. Louis, which was now dismantled; as the Kaskaskia Indians had joined the Peorias on the banks of Lake Peoria. This change had been effected under Father Gravier’s administration. Father Marest was now Superior with Father Binneteau as assistant, and Father Pinet as occasional helper. Father St. Cosme has but words of the highest praise for the Jesuit Fathers: “This Mission of the Illinois seems to me the finest that the Reverend Jesuit Fathers have up here, for without counting all the children who are baptized, a number of adults have abandoned all their superstitions and live as thoroughly good Christians; they frequently attend the sacraments and are married in church. We had not the consolation of seeing all these good Christians often, for they were all scattered down the bank of the river for the purpose of hunting. We saw only some women savages married to Frenchmen who edified us by their modesty and their assiduity in going to prayer several times a day in the chapel. We chanted High Mass in it, with deacon and sub-deacon, on the feast of the Presentation of the most Blessed Virgin, and, after commending our voyage to her and having placed ourselves under her protection, we left the Illinois on the 22nd of November—we had to break the ice for two or three arpents to get out of Lake Permetaoui. We had four canoes; that of Monsieur de Tonty, our two, and another belonging to five young voyageurs who were glad to accompany us, partly on account of Monsieur de Tonty, who is universally beloved by all the voyageurs and partly also to see the country. Reverend Fathers Binneteau and Pinet also came with us a

¹⁵ *Early Narration of the Northwest*, p. 350.

part of the way, as they wished to go and spend the whole winter with their savages."¹⁶

Fathers Binneteau and Pinet were then on the way to the Tamarois, another branch of the Illinois Indians, who had their village on the Mississippi, some thirty miles below the mouth of the Missouri, but on the opposite shore. There were some other villages along the Mississippi south of the mouth of the Illinois River. At one of them the voyageurs took their departure from the Jesuit companions of the way. Father St. Cosme briefly notes: "On the 25th of the month of November, we parted from Father Pinet, who remains in this village to spend the winter, for there are a good many savages here who pray . . ." (an expression signifying a Christian). And again: "While we were detained, Reverend Father Binneteau, whom we had left at the village of the woman chief, came to see us, and after spending a day with us, he returned to the village for the feast of St. Xavier."¹⁷

Pushing on, the Montigny-St. Cosme party arrived at Cahokia, inhabited by another tribe of the Illinois, and also having a colony of French traders and hunters. The Cahokias had been harassed lately by war parties of Shawnees and Chickasaws and were in consequence rather suspicious of the newcomers' intentions. Yet, as Father St. Cosme says, "The chief came with some of his people to receive us on the water's edge and to invite us to their village, but we did not go, because we wished to prepare for the Feast of the Conception. We camped on the other side of the river on the right bank. Monsieur de Tonty went to the village, and after reassuring them to some extent, he brought the chief, who begged us to go and see him in his village. We promised to do so, and on the following day, the Feast of the Conception, after saying our masses, we went with Monsieur de Tonty and seven of our men well armed. They came to meet us and led us to the chief's cabin."¹⁸

Here we must pause, as we stand in the presence of an ever-memorable event, the first offering of the August Sacrifice of the Mass on the site of the city of St. Louis, on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, A. D. 1698.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Early Narration of the Northwest*, p. 350, sq.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 354.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 355.

¹⁹ The village of the Tamarois was in the neighborhood of the present Cahokia, opposite about the foot of Arsenal street; the island on which they cabined at the time was our Arsenal Island. The place where the first Mass was said in St. Louis is the river bank somewhat north of Arsenal Street, and the day was December 8, 1698, Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Three priests were in

The Tamarois Indians, now formed one people with the Cahokias, and being reinforced by the arrival of the Michigamias from Arkansas, held possession of the East bank of the Mississippi from Cahokia Creek to the Ohio. At this time they were cabined on a large island in the Mississippi within sight of the place of the three masses of the eighth of December.

"We were unable to ascertain whether they were very numerous," wrote Father St. Cosme. "There seemed to be a great number of them, although the majority of their people were away hunting. There would be enough for a rather fine mission, by bringing to it the Cahokias who live quite near, and the Mechigamias, who live a little lower down the Mississippi, and who are said to be pretty numerous."²⁰

With this expression of hope the Fathers of the Foreign Mission depart for Arkansas and the South, and we return to our Jesuit Fathers Gravier, Marest, Binneteau and Pinet. Very important things have happened in the meantime, events fraught with far-reaching consequences.

In January, 1699, Father Binneteau, now again at the mission near Peoria Lake, recalls his journey of the previous year:

"I am at present spending the winter with a portion of our savages who are scattered about. I have recently been with the Tamarois, to visit a band of them on the bank of one of the largest rivers in the world—which, for this reason, we call the Mississippi or "the great river." More than seven hundred leagues of it have been found to be navigable, without discovering its source. I am to return to the Illinois of Tamaroa in the spring."²¹

It appears from this, that whilst De Montigny, Davion and St. Cosme were looking from across the river to the Tamarois camp, Father Binneteau and probably his companion, Pinet also, actually visited the Indians there, and made an agreement with them that a Jesuit Mission should be established for the united Illinois nation in the village of Cahokia.

But Father Binneteau was not to witness the accomplishment of this plan. It will be remembered that he was suffering from some malady, when he came to the Mission of the Guardian Angel, in 1698, to bring Father Pinet to the Illinois country. After his return, how-

the company: Montigny, Saint-Cosme, and Davion; and most probably, all three celebrated the holy sacrifice on that day, two hundred and twenty-eight years ago next December.

²⁰ *Early Narration of the Northwest*, p. 356.

²¹ *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 65, p. 71.

ever, he started on his usual round of visits to the scattered neophytes on the prairies adjoining the Illinois River. To follow the Indians on their excursions was one of the severest trials of the missionary. The summer hunt was especially fatiguing, says Father Marest. "It cost the life of the late Father Binneteau. He accompanied the savages in the greatest heat of the month of July; sometimes he was in danger of smothering amid the grass, which was extremely high; sometimes he suffered cruelly from thirst. . . . By day he was drenched with perspiration and at night he was obliged to sleep on the ground. . . . These hardships brought upon him a violent sickness, from which he expired in my arms."²² When death came Father Marest does not tell. But from other sources it appears that Father Binneteau lingered on throughout the fall of the year 1699. "Father Binneteau died from exhaustion," writes Father Gravier, "but if he had had a few drops of Spanish wine, for which he asked us during his last illness . . . or had we been able to procure some fresh food for him, he would perhaps be still alive."²³ According to Rochemonteix,²⁴ Father Binneteau died on the eve of Christmas, 1699, at the Kaskaskia village on Peoria Lake, and was buried there by his companions Marest and Pinet, of whom Father Gravier said on this occasion, "Father Pinet and Father Marest are wearing out their strength; and they are two saints, who take pleasure of being deprived of everything, in order, as they say, that they may soon be nearer to Paradise."²⁵

But there was much work still awaiting the two heroic souls. Father Marest was preparing the great exodus of the Kaskaskias to the Mississippi, and Father Pinet made his journey to the Tamarois. At what particular time this was done, we cannot say. But certain it is, that Father Pinet was in peaceful possession of the Tamarois Mission of the Holy Family before the 9th of October, 1700, when Father Gravier noted in his Journal: "After journeying four days with the Kaskaskias, I went on ahead with Father Marest, whom I left ill among the Tamarouha, where Father Pinet performs in peace all the duties of a missionary. Meanwhile, Monsieur Bergier, who works very well with us, has charge of the French only, which is a great relief for Father Pinet."²⁶

²² *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 66, p. 253.

²³ *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 66, p. 25.

²⁴ Rochemonteix, Camille de, *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle France aux XVII siecle*. Paris, 1895-1896.

²⁵ *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 66, p. 37.

²⁶ *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 65, p. 103.

The presence of Monsieur Bergier, a newly arrived priest from the Seminary of Quebec, was, though not a surprise, yet a matter of a most disquieting nature. It meant a double, and possibly conflicting, authority within the missions entrusted to the Jesuits; a matter that threatened ruin to the Mission of the Immaculate Conception. For on the Illinois River and on Peoria Lake troubles were brewing. The foundation of Biloxi by Iberville, on the lower Mississippi, had caused a serious commotion among the Indian neophytes at Kaskaskia, or as Father Gravier styles them "the Illinois of the straits," meaning by this term the people at the narrow outlet of Peoria Lake, as distinguished from the Illinois of the Mississippi River. The Kaskaskias were determined to leave the Peorias and to sail away to the south and live under the walls of Iberville's strong and rich new settlement at the mouth of the Great River. Father Gravier tells us of the momentous event: "I arrived too late among the Illinois of the Strait—of whom Father Marest has charge—to prevent the migration of the village of the Kaskaskia, which has been too precipitately made, in consequence of uncertain news respecting the Mississippi settlement. I do not think that the Kaskaskias would have thus separated from the Peouaroua and from the other Illinois of the Strait, if I could have arrived sooner. I reached them at least soon enough to conciliate their minds to some extent, and to prevent the insult that the Peouaros and the Mouingouana were resolved to offer the Kaskaskia and the French when they embarked. I addressed all the chiefs in full council, and, as they continue to retain some respect and good will for me, they parted very peaceably. But I augur no good from this separation, which I have always opposed, for I foresaw but too well the evil consequences that would result from it. And may God grant that the road from Chicagwa to the Strait be not closed, and that the entire Illinois Mission may not suffer greatly thereby."²⁷

As the missions on the Illinois were dependent on Quebec for their supplies, the road over Chicago to Michellimackinack had to be kept open. If the Illinois Indians were not strong enough to resist the inroads of the Iroquois and the Sioux, the road to Canada would no longer be open and the missions would be doomed.

But the Kaskaskias were on their way to the South; all that Father Gravier's persuasions could accomplish was to halt the voyage near the Tamarois' village, where Fathers Marest and Pinet were awaiting them. Rouensa, the great chief of the Kaskaskias, who was

²⁷ *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 65, p. 102, sq.

a faithful Catholic, was leading them on, but did not know where to lead them. It had dawned upon his mind that the voyage to the lower Mississippi was simply impossible. But to stay with the Cahokias and Tamarois on their narrow strip of territory between the river and the bluffs seemed equally destructive. Beyond the river lay a boundless expanse of woodland and prairie. Some of the Missouri tribes, as the Osages and Missouri, were friendly to them. Why not cross over and erect their cabins beyond? And that was exactly what the Kaskaskia did, and what Father Pinet induced his Tamarois to do; and what the French traders from Kaskaskia and from Cahokia did not fail to imitate. The proofs for this very interesting fact have only recently been dug up from the dust of two centuries by Fathers Kenny and Garraghan of St. Louis University²⁸ and others. We will here give the substance of the argument.

The southern boundary of the present city of St. Louis is formed by a little river flowing from the northwest into the Mississippi. It has always borne the poetical name of the Riviere des Peres, or the River of the Fathers. No one seemed to know when and why it was so named. Yet, the very name seemed to imply a certain connection with the Jesuit Fathers, the earliest missionaries in the valley of the Mississippi. By a happy chance a number of letters were discovered in far-away Canada, that gave the key to the mystery, as we have already intimated. The time was 1700 and the occasion was the settlement made on the place by Kaskaskia and Tamarois Indians and a considerable number of French traders and hunters from Old Kaskaskia on the Illinois and from Cahokia at the head of the American Bottoms.²⁹

²⁸ Cf. *Catholic Historical Review of St. Louis*, vol. I, 151 ss. and ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. IV, p. 355, ss., and vol. V, p. 149, ss.

²⁹ The argument from tradition is reflected in the testimony of Moses Austin, one of early mining experts of Missouri. Among his papers carefully preserved by his descendants in Austin, Texas, is a booklet of 38 leaves, which he entitles a Memorandum of his journey from Virginia to Louisiana West of the Mississippi, 1796-7. Pertinent to our subject is the statement: "From the best Accounts that can be gathered from the most ancient of the Inhabitants it appears that the first Settlement of the Country by the French was a place called La Rivière Despère (or Fathers or Priests River) which is situated on the now Spanish side of the Mississippi about six miles below where the Town of St. Louis now stands. . . . From the supposed unhealthiness of that spot, they removed to a prairie on the Kaskaskia River about 25 miles from its mouth where the Tamaroica Indians then lived. Here they built a church dedicated to St. Joseph, and called the prairie after the name of the Saint, and resided there sometime, until some disorder prevailing among the Indians, which destroyed (*sic*) most of them in one year, they came to Kaskaskia and built a Stone Church in the Centre of the town dedicated to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary."

Father St. Cosme, priest of the Foreign Missions, had returned from Arkansas to Cahokia in March, 1700. Here he found his brother in the Society, Father Bergier and his cousin, the younger St. Cosme, who was not in priest's orders. He set about building a chapel and a mission-house. St. Cosme was greatly surprised at the Jesuit's claim to the mission among the Tamarois, and Father Bergier who remained alone after Father St. Cosme's second departure for the South, was still more embarrassed by the arrival of the whole tribe of the Kaskaskias, as we gather from the letters to Bishop Laval written in 1700. Father St. Cosme wrote: "We had the chapel completed and erected a fine cross. But I was very much surprised at Father Bineteau's arrival. He had left Peoria to come and settle this mission." Father Bergier, on his part, informed the Bishop of the conditions obtaining in the mission in a letter dated February, 1700: "I related to your Highness our trip to the Illinois, from which place I wrote you all I had found out about the condition of the missions and that which concerns the government of your church. There remains but to inform you of the condition of the latter. I arrived there the 7th of this month with young Mr. de St. Cosme. I have counted there a hundred cabins in all, or thereabouts, of which nearly half are vacant because the greater part of the Cahokias are still in winter quarters twenty or twenty-five leagues from here up the Mississippi.

"The village is composed of Tamarois, Cahokias, some Michigans and Peorias. There are also some Missouri cabins, and shortly, there are come about thirty-five cabins of this last-named nation who are winter-quartering some ten or fifteen leagues from here below the village on the river. We must not, however, count this nation as forming part of the village and of the Tamarois mission, because it remains there only a few months to make the Indian wheat, while awaiting a day to return to its village, which is more than a hundred leagues away, upon the shores of the Missouri River. This it has not dared to undertake for the last few years for fear of being surprised and defeated on the way by some other hostile nation.

"The Tamarois and the Cahokias are the only ones that really form part of this mission. The Tamarois have about thirty cabins, and the Cahokias have nearly twice that number. Although the Tamarois are at present less numerous than the Cahokias, the village is still called Tamaroa gallicized 'Des Tamarois,' because the Tamarois have been the first and are still the oldest inhabitants and have first lit a fire there, to use the Indian expression. All the other nations who have joined them afterwards have not caused the name

of the village to change, but have been under the name Tamarois although they were not Tamarois."³⁰

In the following year, however, after the arrival of the Kaskaskia tribe with their missionary Marest, Father Bergier wrote from Tamaroa about a division of his people occasioned by the new exodus of the Kaskaskias to the little river on the west bank now called the Des Peres. He gives his information in brief, clear-cut numbered clauses, which we subjoin together with Father Kenny's running comment.

"1. The Kats (this is a common short form for Kaskaskia) to the extent of about thirty cabins, have established their new village two leagues below this on the other side of the Mississippi. They have built a fort there, and nearly all the French have hastened thither."

"Two leagues below" Tamaroa, and "on the other side of the Mississippi" brings us into Missouri at the mouth of the Des Peres River. "They have built a fort there, and nearly all the French have hastened thither," indicate a settlement of whites. A number of Frenchmen left the confederated camp with the Kaskaskia; we see these now augmented by the accession of Frenchmen who had been at Tamaroa, so that it is safe to say that the whites in Missouri in 1700 were the largest aggregation of Caucasians at any one spot on the entire Mississippi valley.

Monsignor Bergier continues:

"2. The chief of the Tamaroa, followed by some cabins, joined the Kats, attracted by Rouensa who promises much, and makes them believe him saying that he is called by the great chief of the French, Mr. d'Iberville, as Father Marest has told him.

"3. The remainder of the Tamaros, numbering about twenty cabins, are shortly going to join their chief, already settled at the Kats. So there will remain here only the Cahokia numbering 60 or 70 cabins. They are cutting stakes to build a fort."

Here we learn how it came about that the early Illinois settlement changed its name at this time from Tamaroa to Cahokia. The Tamaroa abandoned the site and the Cahokia made it their permanent home.³¹

It was early in 1700 that the Kaskaskia migration reached the Tamaroa or Cahokia village. But it is not probable that it rested

³⁰ Cf. E. J. Fortsier, *Points in Illinois History*, ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. V, p. 149.

³¹ Cf. Kenny, *Missouri's Earliest Settlement and Its Name*, in *Catholic Historical Review of St. Louis*, vol. I, 152, sq.

there very long. The inference, therefore, seems justified that the foundation of the new Kaskaskia village at the junction of the Riviere des Peres with the Father of Waters as indicated by Father Bergier took place before the end of 1700. The friendly cooperation between the Jesuit Pinet and the Seminary priest Bergier did not last long. In fact Father Pinet was recalled by Father Marest to the place he termed "Among the Kaskaskias," which is, of course, the village of the Jesuit Fathers on the soil of Missouri. Father Marest writes to Father Lamberville in Paris under date of July 5, 1702:

"Father Pinet, a very holy and zealous missionary, has left the station at the Tamarous, or Arkinsa, in accordance with your directions to me. But he has only half quitted it, for he has left a man in our house there who takes care of it, and thus we occasionally go thither from this place to show that we are obedient to the king, pending the receipt of his orders. That Father now has charge of the Cascaskias, where I leave him alone, to his great sorrow—owing to present circumstances, wherein Monsieur Bergier shows that he is a worthy member of the missions etrangeres. Inform him of the ruling by which the Vicars-general have no right to visit our churches or to hear confessions in them without our consent. I am convinced that these missions will receive rude shocks. They were beginning to be on a good footing. This caused jealousy in the minds of the gentlemen of the missions etrangeres, who have come to take them from us. God grant that they may leave them in a better condition than we have done."³²

Father Bergier at Cahokia had been appointed Vicar-general of the Bishop of Quebec in the Mississippi Valley; and Father Gravier, the former Vicar-general, had referred the entire dispute concerning the Illinois Missions to the judgment of the king. As the Seminary priests were confirmed in their possession of the Mission at Cahokia, Father Pinet was recalled, and Father Bergier assumed control of the Indians and what was left of the French at Cahokia. This happened about the middle of June, 1702. Personally, the two missionary bands were on friendly terms; yet the friction caused by the contested authority had not been without deleterious influence on the Indian population of the two villages on opposite sides of the river. As Father Garraghan tells us in his recent article in the *Sunday Globe-Democrat* of St. Louis:

³² *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 66, p. 37.

“Rouensa, the Kaskaskia chief, offered every inducement to the Tamaroa and Cahokia to move across the river to his new settlement. Presents were not wanting, 5000 pounds of powder and “a cask when the French shall have come up from the sea.” Father Bergier, to hold his Indians, had to lay before them counter attractions, “a kettle, four pounds of powder, a pound of colored glass beads, four boxes of vermilion and a dozen knives.” Long Neck, the Tamaroa chief, set before his people the charms of the Kaskaskia village, which had won for itself the alluring soubriquet of “The Land of Life.”

On the other hand, Chicagoua, another Tamaroa chief, showed himself indifferent in the question of the hour and declared it was all one to him whether his tribesmen went or stayed. In the end, only a third of the Tamaroa, some twelve cabins, with their chief, presumably Long Neck, moved to the Des Peres. A much larger number had no doubt been expected, as one day in April, 1701, Rouensa sent as many as twenty-three pirogues to bring the Indians over from Cahokia. Whether the rest of the tribe eventually followed the third that migrated, cannot be ascertained. At all events, it is significant that a hitherto unpublished map in the National Library, Paris, indicates the Tamaroa village as being at this period on the west side of the Mississippi below Cahokia.”

Thus time ran on in the little village by the River des Peres. Father Boré came here as also Brother Guibert. The chapel was well attended by the neophytes. Trade with the tribes on the Missouri River was going on briskly. Yet, the feeling was abroad that the Des Peres settlement was not the final goal of the Kaskaskia migration.

In his letter of July 5, 1702, to Father Lamberville, Father Marest writes about Father Mermet's going to the new post on the Wabash, probably meaning the mouth of the Ohio, which was often called the Wabash, and his own intention of visiting the Sioux country. He then adds the significant remark: “An effort should be made to give us accurate information about Monsieur de Ponchartrain's intentions—respecting what is asked and expected from our savages, as well as the grant that the Court will be pleased to give them. I think you understand what I mean.”³³

“Our savages” are the Kaskaskias and Tamarois on the Riviere des Peres. Shall they remain there, or if not, where shall they go? These were the questions that agitated the writer's mind. His correspondent certainly understood what he meant.

³³ *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 66, p. 41.

At what time this removal to Kaskaskia on the Illinois side of the Mississippi was effected is not quite clear. The only clew we have is an entry in Kaskaskia Baptismal Record: "1702, April 25. Ad ripam Metchegameam dietam venimus."³⁴ "In 1703, on April 25, we arrived on the banks of the river called the Metchigamia." Now it is plain that this in no wise refers to Lake Michigan, but to a river. The Mechigamias, one of the six tribes of the Illinois confederation, had returned to the American Bottom from Arkansas and had occupied the country along the Okaw River, which was afterward called the Kaskaskia River, but was known up to Boisbriant's times as the Metchigamia River. It would therefore appear that the last migration of the Kaskaskias took place early in 1703.

But what name did this historic village and the Mission bear? No doubt some of the voyageurs up and down the Mississippi called it the village of "the Fathers" as distinguished from Cahokia, the village of "the Gentlemen of the Seminary." Others again called it by the name of the great chief of the Kaskaskias, "the village of Rouenza," as Father Bergier in his letter to Bishop Vallier seems to imply, and as Father Mermet plainly states March 2, 1706. But there certainly was some sainted name attached to a Catholic village and Jesuit Mission; Father Mermet tells us what it was: speaking of the Tamarois braves who brought the wounded Father Gravier in a canoe from the Peoria village on the Illinois River to the village on the des Peres, he praises them saying: "They did not leave him until he reached us at Ruenza's village, which is called St. François de Xavier, as you are aware."³⁵

It was from the village of St. Francois Xavier on the Riviere des Peres that Father Bore³⁶ set out in the summer of 1701 on his ill-fated missionary voyage to the Sioux country on the upper Mississippi; it was from this historic spot that Father Marquette's Mission of the Immaculate Conception was re-established on the borders of the great river, which had long before been dedicated to the Immaculate Queen of Heaven; it was here that Father François Pinet died the death of a saint, August 1, 1702, and was laid to rest by Father Bergier of Cahokia.³⁷

³⁴ Cf. Mason, E. G., *Kaskaskia and Its Parish Records*, Chicago, 1881. p. 8.

³⁵ *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 66, p. 57, sq.

³⁶ Father John Bore's name is sometimes spelled Baurie, Borie, and Baron. He was from the Province of France, arrived in Canada in 1699, and returned to France by way of the Mississippi in 1702.

³⁷ Father Pinet's baptismal names are often given as Pierre Francois. In the List of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France published in vol. 71 of the *Jesuit*

The journey from Chicago to St. Louis is at an end. Father Pinet, the humble, kindly and self-effacing priest and missionary had a share in all its vicissitudes, triumphs and failures. Not a single word of his is preserved for us; the image of his beautiful character, so meek and humble and dutiful, is enshrined in the glowing tributes of others who came in contact with him. His relics lie hidden, somewhere on the river bank, just as he would have wished it.

But what became of the settlement on the Riviere des Peres? Though forsaken by the great majority of the Indians and Frenchmen, it remained a village down to the days of Diron D'Artaguiette. For he records in his Journal under date of June 6, 1723: "At daybreak we embarked and came to get breakfast at the *old village of the Cahokias*, which is on the *left as you ascend*, a league and a half distant from the village of the Cahokias. In this place we perceived a large pirogue, of French make, which was crossing over from the village of the Cahokias. . . . We then continued our journey and arrived about ten o'clock in the morning at the poste where the Sieur de St. Ange is in command, with six soldiers. This is a wretched fort of piles, where the Sieur Mercier, priest of the Foreign Mission, has a house and a church. An eighth of a league higher up is the village of the Cahokias."³⁸

At length the last vestiges of the village had been obliterated, and only the name of "the Fathers" clung to the little river rippling over its rocky bed. A name only remained, but it was a name of inspiration, and today it links the great city of the Lakes with the city of the Great River through its common Catholic hero, Father François Pinet.

JOHN ROTHENSTEINER.

St. Louis.

Relations it is simply Francois. Father Pinet was noted for his fluency in speaking the language of his neophytes, which made him so very dear to them.

³⁸ Cf. Diron D'Artaguiette's *Journal* in Meriness' Collection, pp. 79 and 80.

HEROES OF AMERICA'S ORIGINS

ISAAC JOGUES, RENE GOUPIL, JOSEPH LALANDE

We are here today upon hallowed and sacred soil. Upon it has been poured out the life's blood of three holy men, who cheerfully gave up all that the selfish world deems worth while, in order that by their unselfishness and sacrifice the dominion of Christ upon earth might be extended. No battlefield in all the universe has witnessed greater fortitude than was here displayed by the fearless trio whose memory we venerate and whose blessing we invoke upon this great country, to civilize and Christianize whose native savages they gave up all that humanity holds most dear. With the true democracy which ever characterizes the Catholic Church, wherein all men are equal save as their zeal and fervor raise them above the level of their fellows, she has beatified and placed upon the step nearest to canonization one priest and two laymen, who, though differing in the nature of their service to the altar, were one in their willingness to make the supreme offering of their lives in the cause of religion. Associated in life, in death they were not parted and while their several heads rotted on the sharpened ends of the palisades that surrounded the Indian settlement of Ossernenon, where Auriesville now stands, their scarred bodies were borne along by the currents of the Mohawk, into which they had been cast by their murderers, and whence they shall arise in all the glory of their martyrdom upon the day of the Resurrection.

The Catholic Church, which does all things well, is mindful as well that not to all men is it given to practice the heroic sacrifices and face the ordeals which merit the martyr's crown; and so while she recognizes the exalted merits of the eight Jesuit Martyrs of North America, who all met most cruel deaths for the Faith, she at the same time recognized the merit and value of holy living and the practice of virtue in one's appointed station in life, by canonizing two who had edified and inspired humanity by the perfection to which they had attained in the religious life, but in comparative quiet and seclusion,—the Curé d'Ars, St. John Baptist Vianney, and the Little Flower of Jesus, St. Tèresa Martin.

Nor is it by mere coincidence that this year also saw the canonization of the great Jesuit educator, preacher and statesman, St. Peter Canisius, through whose efforts Southern Germany was saved to the Church. For the Jesuit Order has not only produced great martyrs,

but great spiritual leaders, who have rendered untold service to the Church whenever the assaults upon her were most severe and the times seemed darkest for religion. The very virulenc of the attacks upon the Order has been the best proof of the fear and hate which its members have aroused among the foes of the Cross. In this continent alone their labors were such as almost to defy credence. As the Episcopal Bishop, Rev. William Ingraham Kip, says in his work on the "Early Jesuit Missions of North America": "Amid the snows of Hudson's Bay—among the woody islands and beautiful inlets of the St. Lawrence—by the council fires of the Hurons and the Algonquins—at the source of the Mississippi, where first of white men, their eyes looked upon the Falls of St. Anthony, and then traced down the course of the bounding river as it rushed onward to earn its title of 'Father of Waters'—on the vast prairies of Illinois and Missouri—among the blue hills which hem in the salubrious dwellings of the Cherokees—and in the thick canebrakes of Louisiana—everywhere were found the members of the 'Society of Jesus.'"

And the energy and fortitude with which they prosecuted their missionary labors in America was but an example of what they were doing throughout the world. Wherever they thought souls could be won to Christ, there did they penetrate. Neither snows nor forests, nor rivers, nor burning heat could stay their progress. The history of the Order, viewed from the human side alone, would be the most stirring of romances were it not the most inspiring of actualities. One can turn to the "Jesuit Relations" and find on almost every page something to touch the heart and inspire the soul throughout the seventy-three volumes of letters which they comprise. Everything needful to know about the Indians is there contained—their speech, their habits, their manner of thought, their strong and weak points. Every branch of the natural sciences has its appropriate place in the narratives. As Reuben Gold Thwaites, the erudite editor of the latest American edition of the "Relations" (a standing monument to American scholarship) says: "Not only do these devoted Missionaries—never in any field, has been witnessed greater personal heroism than theirs—live and breathe before us in the 'Relations,' but we have in them our first competent account of the Red Indian at a time when relatively uncontaminated by contact with Europeans." And these great source-books of Indian folk-lore, ethnology and superstition, as well as of the natural sciences in America, now universally recognized and made use of by modern historians as accurate and complete, were written in the shape of letters by Missionaries in the short intervals between their labors and their sufferings, not

knowing what moment might be their last, when the native medicine men were able to raise the hatred of the savages against them. To these services to history must be added the works of the Jesuit Father Charlevoix, the historian of New France.

And lest one should think that that all the efforts of the Catholic Church in the 16th and 17th centuries had been devoted to missionary efforts, let it be remembered that the College of Santa Cruz in Tlaltelolco, one of the native quarters in the City of Mexico, was founded in 1535 under the patronage of Bishop Zumaraga, for the education of Indians. The University of Lima, Peru, received its royal charter in 1551, and the University of Mexico was chartered the same year, though not formally organized until 1553. Harvard University, often but mistakenly referred to as the oldest institution of learning in America was not started until 1636, while Yale University dates from 1700. The Medical School of the University of Mexico was founded in 1578. The Massachusetts Bay Psalm Book dates to 1637. The first book printed in Mexico dates to 1537, and there were seven printing presses at work there during the seventeenth century. In every province were to be found such men as Father Francis Pareja, who, after spending sixteen years in the study of the language of the Timuquan tribes, prepared and published between 1612 and 1627, in that tongue, a Catechism, a Grammar, a Book of Prayers, and other treatises; and this a generation before John Eliot, the so-called "Apostle to the Indians," made his first address to them, in 1646, at Noonatum.

The service of the Catholic Church to America begins almost with its discovery; for if we do not accept the claim that Father Bernard Monticastro, a Franciscan, accompanied Columbus on his first voyage, because there is no record of his having celebrated Mass in the New World; yet there can be no doubt that on his second voyage Columbus took with him Father Bernard Boil, Vicar Apostolic of the Indies, Father Antonio de Marchena, and twelve priests of various orders, including Fathers Giovanni Borgagnone and Giovanni de Tisni, Franciscans, who labored in the Isle of Spain and adjacent islands. With the expedition of Ovando in 1500, 17 Franciscan Missionaries started for America, and 22 more in 1511, by which time the Franciscan Province of the Holy Cross had three convents in the West Indies.

Sebastian Cabot, on his voyage in 1498, when he explored as far as Virginia, had two Franciscan Friars with him; and Ponce de Leon on his second voyage was accompanied by Dominican Friars to minister to the Indians, by whom Mass was offered up at his first settlement near Charlotte Harbor on the West coast of Florida. But the

first priest whose name survives as the celebrant of the Holy Mass in North America was Father Anthony de Montesinos, with the expedition of Lucas Vasquez de Aylon at St. Michael, on the site of the subsequent settlement of Jamestown. Father de Montesinos is entitled to be held in grateful memory as he was the first to raise his voice against human slavery in the New World, in a sermon preached in the Cathedral of Santo Domingo as early as 1511. Though Father Juan Xuarez and Brother John of Palos were drowned at the mouth of the Mississippi River in 1528, while with the Narvaez expedition, the first martyrs of the Cross in North America to fall while engaged in missionary work was Father John de Padilla who was killed in 1540 by the Quivira Indians, among whom he was laboring after the abandonment of the settlement at Tigue (now Bernalillo), New Mexico. As the historian says: "The ministers of the Catholic faith had thus, before the middle of the sixteenth century, carried the cross and announced Christianity from the banks of the Chesapeake to the canons of the Colorado." In 1549, the Dominican Fathers DeTolosa, Fuentes and Cancer were massacred while engaged in their missionary labors near Tampa Bay. In 1566, Father Peter Martinez, a Jesuit sent to the Florida Mission by St. Francis Borgia, General of the Order, was murdered by the Indians at Cumberland, Florida. The year 1571 witnessed the death at the hands of the natives of Fathers J. B. de Segura, Vice Provincial, and Louis de Quiros, Jesuit priests, and seven Jesuit brothers at their Missions on the Potomac River. Of the Franciscan Missionaries to the Indians in Georgia, in 1597, were murdered: Father Corpa at Amelia Island; Father Rodriguez at Topoqui; Father Aunon at Asopo; and Father de Valascola at Ssao. These are but a few of the earlier martyrs, while hundreds of missionary priests disappeared off the face of the earth without any certain clue as to the manner of their deaths.

But the Jesuit martyrs of North America, now beatified as true sufferers for the faith, and their merits now officially recognized, appeal to us in a peculiar manner. For it was within the limits of our own State that some of them worked out their apostolic lives and then gave their souls up as their last offering, while all at one time or another had some connection with its missions or missionaries. Again, the lives of all of them were spent in the sincere and charitable effort to be of service in bringing salvation to those sitting in outer darkness, and their mission was solely one of benevolence and mercy, without a thought of self. Further, their constancy and fortitude in the face of indescribable tortures and agonizing deaths, proved the sincerity of their mission not less than their willingness, nay

eagerness, to return to meet certain death after some fortunate escape, if they thought a few more souls could be saved by the immolation of their own lives. Then, again, most of them were men of good family, highly educated in an age when education meant something, many of them members of the learned professions, all of them with brilliant careers open to them in their native lands, to be enjoyed amid luxury and affluence—all of which they sacrificed to preach the Gospel of Christ Crucified, to a savage, brutal and treacherous people. And their heroism was not that of the battle where the thirst for blood and the rage of combat carry men far beyond their usual range of strength and exertion and the ability to bear pain, but it was the far nobler heroism of a single white man hundreds of miles from his nearest white neighbor, living in hunger, filth and half nakedness; at best only tolerated by the savages around him and likely to be sacrificed at the merest whim; at worst the slave of the whole camp, the target on which to try out the fiendish ingenuity of the children, the carefully planned subject of the most harrowing tortures the minds of the elders could devise. Such solitary heroism should appeal to every heart, particularly when it is exercised without a thought of earthly gain. Finally, the similarity of the tortures visited upon them with those inflicted upon the early martyrs, lends fresh reverence to their lives. Like the early Christians in the gardens of Nero's Golden House, their poor bleeding, scourged bodies were turned into living torches as they were burned alive at the stake. Like the early Christians in the arena, they were thrown to ravenous animals, but instead of lions, they were wolves in the semblance of men. Like the burning oil cast upon the early victims of persecution, boiling water was poured upon their open wounds and newly scalped heads, while necklaces of red hot iron blades were hung about their shoulders to add to their sufferings. Never has such ingenuity in torment been exercised by any people as was used by the Iroquois and all the members of their Confederacy, in applying old forms of torture and inventing new ones to try the fortitude of the Missionaries, of whom the fortunate ones were those who found a quick death by the tomahawk, and who were not reserved for the horrors of the burning at the stake.

It is because he embraced in his own career almost every one of these items that makes a personal appeal to us, that first place among his noble and saintly associates of the Society of Jesus who gave up their lives so cheerfully for the faith, has for generations been accorded to him whom we can now call, Blessed Isaac Jogues.

The life of the Blessed Isaac Jogues has aroused so much devotion and interest, that few personages in the early history of our country have received greater attention, or had their career studied more closely for historical purposes. Fortunately he himself has left the basis for his biography in the letters which he wrote to his superiors and former associates in France. The more they are read, the more admirable does his character appear. The constantly increasing flood of praise for the sanctity of his life, the purity of his motives, the depth of his devotion, and the fortitude with which he bore his sufferings, find its ever continuing source in those unaffected records, written in the very agony of his torments. He typifies in the highest degree the spirit of Jesuit missionary effort—the highly educated man of good family spurning the glories of the world that, under the spiritual banner of his Order, he might save souls for God, no matter what the cost to him in suffering and torture, even to death itself. Thousands of his fellow Jesuits have given up their lives in the good fight for the cause which inspired him, but the records of their last moments is lost with the generations of pagans who immolated them. But God has allowed the life work of this great Martyr, and his associates, to be known and remembered by men, that here in our beloved country we might never forget the debt we owe them for the sacrifices they made, and which have sanctified not only this spot where we are assembled but the state and nation as well. At the risk of repeating what you all doubtless know, I cannot refrain from a brief summary of the life of him who was the inspiration of all his comrades, and whose career assumes redoubled significance as we realize that we stand upon the ground made sacred by the martyr's blood. Here is not present the awe-inspiring gloom and hoary antiquity of the catacombs, with their tens of thousands of "Athletes of Christ,"—men and women who gladly gave up this temporal life as a mark of their Faith, to enter into the life eternal. To this spot the faithful have not resorted for twenty centuries to pray that their souls might share in the peace of the glorious martyrs. You will see here no loculi filled with bones or dust of virgins and matrons, of youths and old men, at their feet the vials containing the long dried up blood that bore silent witness to their supreme sacrifice. But here none the less under the open sky, and amid modern surroundings, as far removed as possible from those in older countries, we feel that the spirits of the saintly dead are still with us, and that we should profit by their presence to emulate at least their love of God, their zeal for the faith, their love for their neighbors, even if we are not able to

make even an infinitesimal portion of the offering they so cheerfully volunteered.

Blessed Isaac Jogues was born in Orleans, France, on January 10th, 1607. Educated at a Jesuit College there, he was admitted to the Rouen novitiate of the Order in 1624, and after the then customary period of seclusion and prayer, he was sent to Paris to continue his literary studies. In 1629 he began his career as a teacher and for four years attracted universal admiration by his able scholarship and ability in the direction of youth. Then he went to the Clermont College at Paris to make his studies required to fit him for the Holy Priesthood, and in 1636 he was ordained a priest and ordered to prepare for immediate embarkation to Canada. His original choice had been the Ethiopian Mission. After bidding farewell to his mother and family, he set sail on April 2nd, 1636, from Dieppe with Fathers Garnier and Chatelain and, after a stormy voyage, reached Miscou, a little island at the entrance of Baie des Chaleurs where the Jesuits had a missionary station. After a short stay, he proceeded to Quebec, where he arrived July 2nd. On August 24th, he left in his frail canoe, for the Huron Mission 900 miles distant in the wilderness, to which his companions had already gone. Their route led along the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers and Lake Nipissing to Lake Huron.

Writing to his mother at this time, he said: "It would not be easy to detail all the miseries of the voyage, but the love of God who calls us to these Missions, and our desire of contributing something to the conversion of these poor savages, renders this so sweet, that we would not exchange these pains for all the joys of earth. Our food on the way is a little Indian corn pounded between two stones and boiled in water without any seasoning; our bed, the earth, or the frightful rocks lining the great river which rolled by us in the clear moonlight, for we always sleep in the open air. The posture to be taken in the canoe is extremely inconvenient; you cannot stretch out your legs, so little and cramped is it; scarcely do you venture to move for fear of capsizing all into the river. I was forced to keep perfect silence, being able neither to understand nor make myself understood by the Indians. Another source of pain and hardship is that in this voyage we met 60, or 80, cataracts or waterfalls, which descend so precipitously and from such a height that the canoes are often engulfed by approaching too near them. We indeed were not exposed to this as we went against the current, but we were not the less obliged to land very frequently, and make through the neighboring rocks and woods a détour of a mile or two, loaded with our bag-

gage and with even our canoe. As for me, I not only carried my little bundle, but I also helped our Indians and relieved them as much as I could, till at last a boy fell sick; then I was forced to carry him on my shoulders on the marches occasioned by the falls of which I have spoken." His experience on this trip threw him into a dangerous illness, on his recovery from which he was instructed in the duties of a missionary's life by his fellow-martyr, Father Brébeuf, and spent the winter visiting the pestilence-stricken natives around him, meantime being taught the Huron language by Father Brébeuf, the first European to master it. Not only was the Huron language thus mastered, but a Jesuit, Father LeJeune, on the Mission already for three years, had prepared a dictionary of the Algonquin language, and was able to teach the Indian children their prayers in their own tongue. In the winter of 1639, Father Jogues went on a mission to the Tobacco nation, and in 1641 he reached Sault-Ste-Marie, in the present state of Michigan, where he preached to the Ojibway tribes. In 1642, while returning from Quebec to the Huron Mission, with twelve canoes filled with Indians, accompanied by René Goupil and William Couture, two lay assistants, he was captured by the Iroquois. Baptizing the Indians who were being instructed for it, and refusing to fly, he was stripped, beaten with clubs and stones, his finger nails all pulled out and the index finger of both his hands ground away. Twenty-two of the captives were forced to accompany the Iroquois on a trip which took thirty-eight days, as Father Jogues wrote "amid hunger, excessive heat, threats and blows—in addition to the cruel pains of our wounds which had putrefied so that worms dropped from them," and yet his one concern was, "the fear lest these cruelties might impede the progress of the Faith, still incipient there" (among the Hurons). Forced to land at Westport on Lake Champlain and run the gauntlet with his fellow captives, Father Jogues who was the last in line, and therefore more exposed to the beatings, fell and could not rise. His only comment was: "What I suffered is known to One for Whose love and cause it is a pleasant and glorious thing to suffer." When they finally reached the Mohawk town of Ossernenon, the present site of Auriesville, Father Jogues had his left thumb cut off by one of the Indian captives, at the order of her master. This was the culmination of such other tortures on the way as being staked out all day, with live coals and red hot ashes placed on his naked body, and being hung by the wrists for fifteen minutes between two poles so that his toes could not touch the ground.

On his arrival at Ossernenon, Father Jogues managed to get word of his capture to the Dutch at Fort Orange whose commandant, Crol,

was ordered by Director General Kieft to effect his ransom, but the Indians would not give him up. Again, in September, Arent Van Curler, the commissary of Rensselaerswyck (Fort Orange), the chiefs of the three Indian castles, and proposed the release of their French captives, but in vain. He offered a ransom of 600 guilders in goods, to which all the colony was to contribute, but could only obtain a promise not to kill their prisoners, despite which Renè Goupil was killed a short time after, because he had been seen by an old Indian making the sign of the cross upon his grandson.

Throughout the long winter Father Jogues remained the slave of the savages, carried off with them on their hunting parties, their drudge and the butt of their ridicule. His only comfort was found in carving the cross upon the trees of the forest, telling his beads and baptizing children at the point of death.

Finally, he was taken in July, 1643, by a band of Indians, on a trading trip to Rensselaerswyck (the present Albany), which then had but a hundred inhabitants. Arent Van Curler offered him free passage to New Amsterdam in a trading ship then lying in the Hudson, and he and Dominie Johannes Megapolensis, the minister of the Dutch Reformed Church there, joined in entreating him to leave. But while hidden in the vessel he heard of the Indians' rage at his escape and their threats to destroy the settlement, and he urged the authorities to let him surrender himself, even if it meant his instant death. To this the noble-hearted Dutch authorities would not agree, but he insisted on at least being hidden on shore until the difficulties were adjusted, finally being concealed in a miserable garret, but with food amply provided by the Commissary. After six weeks the terms of his ransom were agreed on, and he departed for New Amsterdam. Dominie Megapolensis added to his other great services in Jogues' behalf, by accompanying him on the trip. He was received with the greatest kindness by Director General Kieft, who furnished him, not only with food, but with raiment. During his stay in New Amsterdam, of which he wrote an interesting description, he found but two Catholics there—one the Portuguese wife of an ensign at the garrison, the other a young Irishman from Maryland. His only grief now was his inability to bring back to the Faith his benefactor, Dominie Megapolensis, who told him he had once been a Catholic. One of the noblest episodes amid the religious rancor of those days, is the great-hearted way in which all the Dutch officials of the small colony, from Director Kieft down, and with the valiant and warm-hearted co-operation of Dominie Megapolensis, did what they could

to procure and further his escape from his captors and to soften the consequences of his sufferings.

Finally, on November 5th, 1643, he sailed for Holland from New Amsterdam in a small bark, and during his voyage was obliged to sleep on deck, so deficient was it in accommodations because of its diminutive size. While the vessel was lying in an English port, robbers deprived Father Jogues of the hat and cloak given to him by the Dutch, and he finally reached France in a collier which happened to be in the English port at the time. Landing in Brittany on Christmas day, it is said that a merchant took him to Rennes, where he presented himself at the college of his order as one who brought news from Canada. The Rector, who was preparing to say Mass, hurried to see the stranger as soon as he heard the word "Canada." Almost his first question was as to Father Jogues. "Do you know him?" "I know him well," said the other. "We have heard of his capture by the Indians and his horrible sufferings. What has become of him? Is he still alive?" "He is alive," said Father Jogues, "he is free, he is speaking to you;" and he cast himself at the feet of his astonished superior to ask his blessing. Honors were showered on him. The Queen Regent, Anne of Austria, thrice summoned him to Paris before he would go there, when she kissed his mutilated hands. He longed to return to the Missions, but he needed a papal dispensation to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar. This was finally granted by Pope Urban VIII, with the historic exclamation: "Indignum esse Christi martyrem Christi non bibere sanguinem" ("It would be unjust that a martyr of Christ should not drink the blood of Christ"). The last obstacle to his return to his life work thus removed, Father Jogues returned to Canada in the Spring of 1644. In April, 1646, he was sent as an ambassador to the Mohawks and to re-establish the Mission among them. He travelled down Lake Champlain, past the scene of his former tortures, and then through Lake George, as yet unnamed by Europeans, but known to the Iroquois as Andiatarocete. He reached it on the eve of Corpus Christi, and, in consonance with the beautiful custom which led the early Catholic explorers of the country to give newly-discovered territory names associated with the holy days when they were first seen, he called it characteristically, "Lac du saint Sacrement" "The Lake of the Blessed Sacrament." He stopped first at Fort Orange to thank his former benefactors. He finally reached Ossernenon, was received in a friendly manner at a council of the Sachems, and presented a belt of wampum to the tribe of the Wolf, into which he had been incorporated. His duties as an am-

bassador and envoy of temporal peace over, he visited and consoled the captives, and conferred the sacraments of baptism and penance on many. As he expected to return speedily to resume his missionary labors, he left with the Indians a box containing some of his priestly effects, which at first they declined to receive, thinking there was some sorcery about it, but he opened it in their presence, and showed them the contents, and, thinking them satisfied, went his way.

In September, 1646, departing from Quebec, according to tradition, with the remark, "Ibo sed non redibo" ("I go but shall not return"), he left Three Rivers for the last time with Jean Lalande, a layman and some Hurons. Despite rumors of war, Father Jogues continued on, only to be captured by a war party of Iroquois half way between Lake George and the Mohawk River. Slicing the flesh from his back and arms, they cried, "Let us see whether this white flesh is the flesh of a Manitou." Brought back to Ossernenon, his place of first captivity, his fate was a matter of dissension among the three great clans of the Bear, the Tortoise and the Wolf, the latter two desiring that his life should be spared. During his absence pestilence and famine had broken out among the Mohawks, who blamed their misfortunes upon the magic box left with them by Father Jogues. Though the decision was finally for mercy, it had no effect upon the Bear clan which invited him to supper at one of their lodges, but as he was entering it, an Indian concealed within sprang forward and killed him with a tomahawk, despite the effort to save him by Kiotsaeton, the deputy who had concluded the peace with Jogues, through whose arm the tomahawk cut before it reached the latter's head. His head was cut off and set on the palisade facing the road by which he had returned to those for whom his love for Christ had led him to again risk his life in the effort to turn their hearts and souls to Him. The next morning his body was thrown into the Mohawk River. Later the Indians brought his Missal and Breviary, together with his underclothing and cloak, to his sympathetic friend, Dominic Megapolensis, who sought the reason for their cruel act, only to be answered that he had left the devil with them among some clothes, who had caused their corn to be destroyed.

Thus, on October 18th, 1646, died the Blessed Isaac Jogues, true to his God, to his Order, and to his Missions, and who long before his beatification had been pronounced "one of the finest examples of Roman Catholic virtue which this Western continent has seen." What a sublime spectacle does this devoted priest present as he

wanders through the forest, almost naked, half starved, his body a continued mass of wounds, his hands mutilated, his whole frame racked with pain, while he recites his Rosary, and carves in the tree trunks the emblem of man's salvation. In his letters to his superiors he begins with the formula, "Reverend Father in Christ—The Peace of Christ;" and that was the only peace which the Blessed Martyr was to know from the day his foot first touched the soil of North America.

Blessed René Goupil, whose biography was written by the Blessed Jogues himself, was his companion in his first captivity at Ossernenon. He was born at Angers in France, and at the time of his death was 35 years of age. He had spent some time in the Jesuit novitiate in Paris, but bodily ailments prevented his attaining the priesthood. So coming to Canada, for two years he tended the sick in the hospital and studied surgery, as a *donné*, one dedicated to the work of the Jesuits as a lay assistant. Blessed Jogues had requested to be allowed to take him along on his first trip to the Mohawk and Goupil was filled with joy, though knowing the dangers he was to meet. Taken prisoner with Jogues, he was tortured on the way in like manner, and was brought here to Ossernenon to meet his doom. Jogues speaks of him as "eminent for his simplicity of manners, his innocence of life, his patience in adversity," and writing after Goupil's death to the Provincial of the Jesuits at Paris, he said, "Most worthy is he, Reverend Father, to be counted among thy children, not only because he had most edifyingly spent several months in one of the novitiates of the Society and had afterwards by order of the Superiors, to whom he gave disposal of his life, proceeded to Huronia to aid the Christian population by his medical knowledge, but especially does he merit it for the fact that a few days before his death, impelled by a desire of uniting himself more closely to God, he pronounced the usual vows of the Society to subject himself more closely to it, as far as in him lay. And certain it is, that in life as in death, where his last word was the most Holy Name of Jesus, he had proved himself no unworthy son of the Society. Nay, I not only loved him as a brother but revered him as a martyr, martyr to obedience, and still more a martyr to the Faith and to the Cross." Goupil had met his death as the result of the superstitious fear of the Indians, whose children he had taught to make the sign of the cross on their breasts and on their foreheads. While returning to their prayers before one of their woodland crosses, saying their rosary, Jogues and Goupil were met by two Iroquois, who with three blows of the tomahawk ended the gentle

life of Goupil and gave him the crown of martyrdom. This was in September, 1643, on the feast of St. Michael. After stripping his body, it was dragged by a rope tied round the neck through the village to a ravine some distance way, where it was flung. The next day Jogues, anxious to give it Christian burial, sought the body and found the dogs from the village had already begun to gnaw it about the hips. Not having time to complete his pious mission then, he sank it in the deepest part of the river, covering it with stones, intending to return next day with a spade and bury it secretly. His life was endangered all the next day, so it was not until the following one that he was able to return with a hoe to complete his purpose. But the body had been found and removed by the young men, so that he had to content himself with chanting the office of the dead. "When, however," he writes, "the snows had melted away I heard from the young men that they had seen the scattered bones of the Frenchman. Hurrying to the spot, I gathered up the half gnawed bones, the remnants left by the dogs, the foxes, and the crows, and dearest of all, the skull fractured in several places; these reverently kissing, I soon committed to the earth that I might one day, if such was God's will, bear them with me as a great treasure to a consecrated Christian land." One of the most pitiful documents surviving in the history of the missions is the letter in which Father Jogues recounts at length the details of the gruesome search for the mortal remains of his dear companion.

Blessed John Lalonde was the companion of Father Jogues in his second captivity at Ossernenon, taking Goupil's place both as friend and martyr. He, too, was a *donné* or lay assistant. Of him all that is known is, that he was born at Dieppe in France, and that the day after the murder of Jogues, on October 19, 1646, he and a Huron guide who had refused to flee when Jogues and Lalonde were captured, were tomahawked, their heads spiked upon the palisade of the village and their bodies thrown into the Mohawk.

Thus by the blood of these three martyrs was this soil of Auriesville, the site of the old Ossernenon, made sacred for all time, and thus did it merit the name given to the Iroquois mission of Father Jerome Lalemant of "Mission of the Martyrs." Here was the Calvary of these three Frenchmen who died heroically for Christ and whom no Catholic can fail to bear in reverent and grateful memory.

Let it not be supposed that their holy lives were without effect upon the Indians. There were noble minds and pious souls that were above the degradation and cruelty that surrounded them and

profited by the lessons taught by those whose sacrifices and suffering bore mute witness to the reality of their faith. Among this brief but glorious roll is to be found the names of Catherine Tekawitha, the "Lily of the Mohawks," born at, and for some time the resident of, Ossernenon, whose pure character and holy life are so eloquently portrayed by Father Cholinec, S. J., in his letter to the Procurator of Missions in Canada, dated August 27, 1715, and of Jeanne Goustahra, the virtuous widow. Then we have the record of the heroic death of Etienne te Ganonakoa, at Ononecagué, who, after untold agonies, was told by his torturers to "pray to God." Raising his bound hand he made the sign of the cross, whereupon they cut off half his remaining fingers and again was he told to "pray to God." Anew he made the sign of the cross, whereupon they cut off all his fingers down to the palm of his hand; and when despite this torture he again tried to make the sign of the cross, they cut off the palm itself, and finally he was burned to death at the stake. We read of Françoise Gonannhatenha, whose agonies lasted for three days before, on the fourth, she was burned at the stake, and of Marguerente Garongonas, who met the same fate at the age of twenty-four. And finally, there was Eustache Ahatsistari, a Huron, who was captured with Father Jogues in his first trip, and who seeing him, said, "I praise God that He has granted me what I so much desired—to live and die, with thee," and who later died in the presence of Father Jogues, suffering his torments with marvelous fortitude. All of these were converts of the Jesuit Missions and all save the last named were Iroquois.

While they had no direct connection with the Mission of the Martyrs, we should with equal veneration study the history of the apostolic labors and heroic deaths of those fellow Jesuit missionaries in the North American field, who share with them the sacred honors of beatification. There is Blessed Noel Chabanel who was killed at the age of thirty-six among the Hurons by an apostate Indian and who, as he fell on his knees exhausted, said, "It matters not that I die; this life is a very small consideration; of the blessedness of Paradise, the Iroquois can never rob me." And Blessed Anthony Daniel, who, at the age of forty-seven, when his church in the Huron mission was attacked by the Iroquois, baptized his catechumens, gave absolution to others and said to the faithful, "Flee, my brothers, and bear with you the Faith even to the last sigh. As for me I must face death here, as long as I shall see here any soul to be gained for Heaven; and, dying here to save you, my life is no longer anything to me. We shall see one another again in

Heaven." Then he calmly walked forth alone to face the savages, who, after shooting his body full of arrows, threw it into the flames that were consuming his church to ashes. And Blessed Charles Garnier, who died at the age of forty-four in the Huron Mission; who while dying from his wounds dragged himself toward an expiring man whom he wished to comfort and strengthen. Two blows from tomahawks, penetrating his brain, caused his death. He was buried later on in the spot where his church had stood, it having been entirely consumed by the flames. And Blessed Gabriel Lalement who was martyred at the age of thirty-nine among the Hurons. The Iroquois, after many other tortures, put out his eyes and applied burning coals in the hollows. Blessed John de Br beuf died with him at the age of fifty-six. The recital of their torments as described by Father Ragueneau in his letter to his Superior in Quebec, is agonizing even to read, and the detailed account he gives of their sufferings is proof enough that nothing save their faith could have enabled them to endure them as long as they did. The martyrdom ended only when their hearts were torn from their quivering but still living bodies and eaten by the Indians who hoped to receive therefrom some part of the superhuman courage which had inspired the martyrs throughout their agony. Nor did the list of martyrs end with these glorious names. The names mentioned are but a few of those the manner of whose death is known to us, while there were hundreds of now unknown soldiers of Christ who went to their heroic deaths unrecorded, like the twenty-two priests murdered in 1680 in the uprising of the Indians under El Pop  in New Mexico, and who though forgotten by men are remembered by God and will be justified upon the Day of the Last Judgment. In 1704, three priests were burned to death at the stake under the orders of Governor Moore of South Carolina during his invasion of Florida—Father John de Parga at Ayubale, Fathers Manuel de Mendoza and Miranda at Patala. Governor Moore attended the burning of the first and last of these priests. The circle became complete when the first American born priest to become a martyr was found in 1706 in the person of Rev. J. B. de St. Cosme, a Sulpician. Two Jesuits were martyred by the Natchez Indians in 1739,—Fathers du Poisson and Souel. Finally in 1724 the Jesuit Sebastian Rale was killed by the English at Norridgewock, Maine, his dead body mangled by many blows, scalped, his skull broken in several places, his mouth and eyes filled with dirt.

One of the most striking circumstances connected with the Jesuit Missionaries in New York is that three of them were the objects of

the most benevolent and fraternal solicitude from not only the Dutch civil authorities but from Dominie Johannes Megapolensis, who, strangely enough, showered his liberal and tolerant spirit of brotherly love not only at Fort Orange (Albany), but also later on at New Amsterdam (New York) where his home was on a part of the present site of the Cunard Building in lower Broadway, as he had both pastorates in succession. I have already stated what Father Jogues owed to their Christian charity. In the Spring of 1644 Father Joseph Bressani, a Jesuit missionary, on his way with supplies to the Huron Mission was captured and tortured by the Iroquois and ransomed by the Dutch at Fort Orange, who gave him surgical treatment for his wounds and clothed him; and he dined almost daily at the table of Dominie Megapolensis who was still at Fort Orange, when he was restored to health. The Dutch sent him to New Amsterdam whence he was transferred by them to a ship to Holland with a letter of safe conduct from Director General Kieft to ensure his return to France. In 1653 Father Joseph Poncet, a Jesuit missionary tortured by the Iroquois, was sent to Fort Orange, treated with great kindness and his wounds healed by local surgical help. And when in 1660 the Jesuit Father Lemoyne, the discoverer of the salt springs of Onondaga County, the third priest of whom we have a record to visit the present site of the city of New York (Jogues and Bressani being first and second), arrived at New Amsterdam, he was cordially greeted by Dominie Megapolensis, now the occupant of the pulpit in the church within the Fort.

New Amsterdam then contained 120 houses and 1,000 people. It was to have its first resident priest when Governor Thomas Dongan, a Catholic, brought Father Thomas Harvey, a Jesuit, with him in 1683, who celebrated Mass regularly in the Fort.

The memories aroused by the historic setting in which we are now assembled should arouse thoughts worthy of the occasion. In an age devoted to pleasure and frivolity where self-indulgence is king and light-hearted indifference of what the morrow may bring is the attitude of all too many, it requires the remembrance of lives such as these blessed ones spent, to make the thoughtless pause and bring them to wonder what can come out of a life of suffering and sacrifice. If but a portion of the love for God and for neighbor that inspired the martyrs could be instilled into the minds and hearts of a generation growing up with slight respect for either, what good would be accomplished, not only for Church, but for Home and country as well. We cannot have the melancholy satisfaction of viewing the relics of the earthly tenements of these three valiant

champions of the Cross, who went to Heaven from this former humble clearing in the forest. But while the hills endure and the valleys are verdant and the river murmurs a requiem to their memory, the "Mission of the Martyrs" shall be kept in perpetual remembrance and shall hold a secure place in the minds of the faithful and of all who admire valor and devotion, as the spot where three heroic souls gave to God their all, cheerfully and willingly, in prayer, in service, in torments and in death itself.

VICTOR J. DOWLING, LL. D., K. S. G.

Justice of New York Supreme Court, Appellate Division
Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur

New York.

This classic address was delivered by Judge Dowling at the celebration of the papal decree declaring blessed the Jesuit martyrs, held at Martyrs' Hill, Auriesville, New York, September 27, 1925.

RIGHT REVEREND JAMES OLIVER VAN DE VELDE, D. D.

This hitherto unpublished autobiographical sketch of Rt. Rev. James Oliver Van de Velde, second Bishop of Chicago, is preserved in the Archives of St. Louis University. Bishop Van de Velde died at Natchez, Mississippi, November 13, 1855.—*Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.*

The Right Rev. John Andrew James Oliver Benedict Rothier Van de Velde was born on April 3, 1795, near the city of Termonde, Province of East Flanders, Belgium. This Province, at the time of his birth, formed a part of the French Republic and was called the "Departement de l'Escaut." At this particular period the whole country was convulsed by the atrocious proceedings of the revolutionary party that had deluged France in blood, and after several desperate battles had conquered the Belgic Provinces and annexed them to the French Republic. The King, Louis XVI, his consort Marie Antoinette and his sister Madame Elizabeth had been executed on the scaffold. The nobility were declared Aristocrats and enemies of the State and the people. Their property had been confiscated and all of them were either excited or imprisoned or had been dragged to the guillotine. The Catholic Religion had been proscribed from the soil of the Republic. As Priests and Bishops had either been put to death or driven into banishment, many of them sought refuge in England, Holland and Russia, and even in Belgium, where the people concealed them, although the same sanguinary laws had been promulgated against them. The temples of the Most High had been closed or demolished. The Abbies, Monasteries, Convents and other religious institutions had been plundered and sacked or applied to profane uses. All the sacred emblems of Religion had been destroyed or removed. The feasts, and even the Lord's day had been suppressed, and a new calendar consisting of weeks of ten days had been forced upon the people, the tenth day being substituted for Sunday. The Belgians for a considerable time refused to submit and tried to shake off the yoke of their new and impious masters, but they were overwhelmed by the Republican armies and at last forced to share with France all the horrors of the bloody revolution.

It was during this stormy and calamitous period that the subject of this memoir was born. When he had nearly reached his second year, he was sent to St. Amand, a town in South Brabant, then the Departement des deux Nethes, to the house of his grandmother where

it was supposed that he would be screened from danger. A maiden aunt, distinguished for her piety and courage, took care of his infancy. An emigrant French Priest had been admitted and concealed in the house and it was to him that the education of young Van de Velde was afterwards entrusted. This pious Confessor of the faith, who, after having been twice apprehended and almost miraculously delivered, had become an exile from his native land, spared no pains to form the mind and heart of the pupil entrusted to his tutorship.

Sometime after when Napoleon had been proclaimed Emperor and the religious persecutions had ceased, young Van de Velde was in the habit of spending a portion of the year under the parental roof, but the warm attachment which he felt for his tutor and aunt rendered his absence from them very irksome, and the death of his father and subsequent marriage of his mother, which gave great displeasure to the whole family, tended to attach him still more to the guardians of his childhood. For a considerable time he had been employed in the Sanctuary and was a particular favorite of the clergy of St. Amand, especially as from the period he made his first Communion, being then just ten years old, he manifested a strong inclination to embrace the ecclesiastical state. Five years after, in 1810, he was sent to a boarding school near Ghent and it was during his residence there that he had the misfortune to lose his tutor, who had always acted toward him the part of an affectionate father. About the same time also the excellent Parish Priest of St. Amand, the Rev. Wm. Verlooy, having by his firmness of principle given umbrage to the government of Napoleon, was compelled to fly from persecution and to resign his office. Young Van de Velde was thus left without any spiritual guide or adviser, and gradually began to mix with the world and to pursue its vanities.

When but eighteen years of age he accepted the office of preceptor of the French and Flemish languages which was offered to him by the mayor of St. Amand and about two years after he was invited to fill the same office at Puers, the chief town of the canton. Among his pupils were the late Very Rev. John A. Elet, and the Rev. J. Fr. Van Assche, both of whom afterwards followed him to America, and several other youths who embraced the ecclesiastical state in Belgium. During this interval took place the battle of Waterloo, after which Belgium and Holland were united and called the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and William, Prince of Orange, a bigoted Calvinist, was by the Congress of Vienna appointed king over both nations. The Belgians, whose country had been drained of its youth and money by the wars of Napoleon, in spite of the greatest reluctance were forced to submit to the yoke, and to bear with the injustice and rampant bigotry of the

upstart despot. Preceptor Van de Velde, having devoted a portion of his time to the study of the English and Italian languages, and feeling unwilling to witness the oppression of his native land, formed the project of leaving it and taking up his abode in England or Italy till better times should dawn upon Belgium. Whilst he was making arrangements to repair to England with a respectable Clergyman of the neighborhood, he received a letter from his old friend and confessor, the Rev. Wm. Verlooy, who had opened an ecclesiastical college or *Petit Seminaire* at Malines. The pious old Priest recalled to the mind of his former penitent the vocation which he had manifested for the clerical state, and in a series of letters strongly urged him to reflect on the vanities and follies of the world, and on the good which he might effect were he to become a laborer in the vineyard of the Lord. To facilitate the execution of this design, he kindly offered him a place as Professor of Latin, French, and Flemish in his flourishing college. The offer was finally accepted and the young professor employed whatever time he could spare in perfecting himself in the study of the Latin classics and in acquiring a knowledge of the elements of Logic and speculative Theology, having in the meantime been inscribed a member of the Archepiscopal Seminary.

Yet, the design of leaving the country on account of the despotism of William I had not been abandoned; but the professor proposed to execute it after he should have been raised to the Priesthood. This design he communicated to the worthy president, who strongly urged him to give up the project of repairing to England or Italy, and rather to devote himself to the foreign Missions, stating at the same time that a Belgian Priest belonging to the Missions of Kentucky in the United States had just arrived from Rome and was soon to leave for America. This Missionary Priest was the Rev. Chas. Nerincks, who was then on a visit to one of his Sisters, the Superior of a Convent at Malines, and it was to him that the president referred his professor for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the state of religion in the country which the zealous Priest had, during the excitement of the French revolution, selected for the field of his Apostolic labors. The young professor was particularly solicitous to know how, in case he should accompany Rev. Mr. Nerincks to America, he would be enabled to continue his theological studies. The good Priest gave him all the information he required, strongly advised him to set out for America, and there to enter the Noviciate of the Jesuits in Maryland. So strong, however, were the prejudices which the professor had imbibed against this religious order that he requested the Missionary not to speak to him of the Jesuits. The Rev. Gentleman remarked with a

smile: "It is because you do not know them." To which the young candidate rather pertly replied: "It is because I know them too well, that I do not wish to have anything to do with them."

It may be observed too that at that time, Mr. Van de Velde had no intention whatever to enter a religious order, but simply to devote a few years to the Missions of America in the capacity of a secular Priest, and then to return to his native country, especially if any change should take place in the Government. It was therefore agreed that he should accompany Rev. Mr. Nevinck to Kentucky, finish his studies in Bishop Flaget's Seminary, and after his ordination spend some years in the Diocese of Bardstown. Well may it be said here that "man proposes, but God disposes."

Everything having been arranged, the professor paid a last visit to his mother, but left her unacquainted with the project he had formed, as he felt confident that she would use every exertion to prevent him from executing it. He opened the subject to his kind aunt who, though she loved him dearly and keenly felt the separation, encouraged him in his design, and generously sacrificed all her feelings on the Altar of Religion. Having complied with this duty and taken farewell of the kind Mr. Verlooy and his fellow-professors at Malines, he set out for Antwerp, where Rev. Mr. Nerink awaited his arrival. They dined together at the house of the venerable Father Geerts, the last surviving member of the suppressed Society of Jesus in Belgium, and in the course of the afternoon left for Amsterdam where they were to take shipping for America. They reached Amsterdam on April 23, 1807, and though it had been annouced that the brig *Mars*, Captain Hall of Baltimore, was to sail on the twenty-fourth of the month, they were compelled to wait till the sixteenth of May, the day on which the vessel left the island of Texel. Rev. Mr. Nerinck's company consisted of two Priests (Rev. W. Cousin and Rev. P. De Vos), four young men destined for the Priesthood (Messrs. Sannen, Verheyen, Timmermans, and Van de Velde), and three other persons, one of whom, named Hendrick, attended him as a servant, while the two others (Christian De Smedt and P. De Meyer) intended to join the Society of Jesus either as students or as lay-brothers. The passage was long, stormy and tedious. Scarcely had they entered the British Channel, than a violent storm overtook them, and threatened to bury them in the deep. One of the sailors was precipitated from the mast into the sea and drowned. All was fear and consternation on board. This happened on Pentecost Sunday. For three days the vessel without sails or rudder was left to float at random, buffeted by the winds and waves. During another storm she sprang a leak, which it was found impracticable to

stop, and for more than three weeks all hands had in turn to work at the pumps, day and night without intermission. Fortunately the captain had taken about a hundred German and Swiss emigrants as steerage passengers; for without their aid it would have been impossible to save the vessel. When they were nearing the banks of Newfoundland, the *Mars* was chased and finally boarded by a privateer. The captain of this marauding schooner happened to be a Baltimorean by the name of Mooney, and far from manifesting any hostile intentions, seemed glad to have fallen in with one of his own townsmen. As the provisions had become very scarce, Capt. Hall bought several barrels of biscuit and salt beef, some casks of fresh water, besides a quantity of dry fruits and wine, of which the privateer had an abundant supply, having but three days before robbed a Spanish merchant vessel that had left the West Indies for some port in Spain.

Neither the captain nor the mate of the *Mars* were great proficient in navigation. Their calculations were always at variance, in consequence of which, after having passed the Azores, they steered direct toward the tropic and then discovering that they were too far South they veered about and in a few days found themselves on the great bank of Newfoundland. Sailing almost at random the vessel one fine morning was at the point of running ashore on the northern part of Long Island. Finally the Chesapeake Bay was reached on July 26, and on the twenty-eighth she landed in the harbor of Baltimore.

Six or seven days before reaching the harbor, during a very violent storm whilst the vessel was pitching and rolling, young Van de Velde had been thrown down and had broken a blood vessel which immediately brought on a fever causing him to be confined to bed, whilst he lost large quantities of blood and was unable to take any food. On landing all went ashore and he was left alone on board under the care of the steward. Next day the Rev. Mr. Brute, then president of St. Mary's College, had the kindness to come for him in a carriage and to transport him to the institution over which he presided, where he placed him under the medical care of Dr. Chatard. He remained about two weeks at the College, after which his health was sufficiently restored to enable him to leave the bed and walk about the room. In the meantime all his companions had repaired to Georgetown, with the exception of Rev. Mr. Nerinck, who having sent his servant Hendrick by sea to New Orleans with all the effects he had collected in Belgium, was making preparations to leave by land for Kentucky with some acquaintances from that state whom he had met in Baltimore.

Father Nerinck was extremely uneasy about his young protégé who was yet too weak in health to accompany him. The Most Rev. Ambr.

Marechal, who had been nominated but not yet consecrated Archbishop of Baltimore, had proposed to receive Mr. Van de Velde into his Seminary (St. Mary's), and to have him ordained Priest after one year's studies. It was then vacation time. Rev. Mr. Nerinck communicated this intelligence to his protégé and left him free to avail himself of the offer, or, in case he declined it, to remain at St. Mary's College to await the arrival of Dr. Dubourg, who had been consecrated in Europe, and was daily expected to arrive at Baltimore. He added with some hesitation that after all it might be best for him to repair to Georgetown and join his traveling companions. Van de Velde immediately asked whether his Rev. friend was willing to release him from the promise which he had made to repair to Kentucky and enter Right Rev. Dr. Flaget's Seminary, and being answered in the affirmative he told him that his ideas concerning the Jesuits had undergone a total change and that, had it not been for the promise he would have requested permission to follow his companions. Whilst on board of the *Mars*, during her long and tedious voyage, Van de Velde had perused all the books that were found in the cabin, the others having been stowed away in the hold of the vessel. But one work was left belonging to Rev. Mr. De Vos and this was the Abbé De Feller's Geographical Dictionary. For want of anything more interesting he began to peruse it. The accounts there given of the various Missions of the Jesuits in Asia, Africa and America amused and interested him, and a remark made by the author towards the close of one of his articles in reference to the deep prejudices that existed against their Society, namely, that it will generally be found that those who are enemies to the Society are also enemies to Religion, struck him forcibly and induced him to reflect on the cause and origin of the prejudices which he had imbibed against the Jesuits. He traced them to the company and conversations of men who were either indifferent or hostile to religion, and in proportion as he continued to peruse the account of the heroic labors, sacrifices and sufferings of the much calumniated members of the Society, he began to feel a desire to repair his unjust ideas and feelings towards them by joining their Order. Rev. Mr. Nerinck was delighted to hear of his change of sentiments, and Van de Velde, having taken a few days to deliberate on the subject, at length gave it as his final decision to the Archbishop-elect, that he would go to Georgetown and enter the Noviciate of the Society. He left Baltimore on the following day and was kindly received by the Rev. Anthony Kohlmann, who was then Superior of all the Missions of the Society of Jesus in America, and also Master of Novices. He commenced his Noviciate on August 23 and two years after he made the simple vows of the Scholastics. Before the

expiration of the first year of his Noviciate he was appointed librarian, an office which he held till he left the College to repair to Missouri in 1831. He commenced the new library with about 250 volumes and left it containing over 20,000 volumes. He was at the same time appointed Professor of the French language and of Calligraphy. During the second year he was made Prefect of the students and attended the class of Poetry and Rhetoric then taught by the Rev. Roger Baxter. Subsequently he pursued the course of the higher Mathematics and of Natural and Moral Philosophy; after which he was employed to teach the Classics including Poetry, Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres and on the departure of Rev. Mr. Baxter from the College succeeded him as Prefect of Studies. Finally, he was ordained Subdeacon, Deacon and Priest on the thirteenth, fourteenth and sixteenth of September, 1827 (being then in his thirty-third year), by the Most Rev. Ambrose Marechal in the old Cathedral of St. Peter, Baltimore.

After his ordination, he devoted two years to the study of Moral and Polemic Theology and in the meantime continued to teach the French language at Georgetown College, and acted as Chaplain at the Convent of the Visitation. In 1829 he was appointed to attend the Missions of Rockville and Rockcreek, in Montgomery County, formerly the scene of the labors of the Rev. John Carroll, before he was nominated first Bishop of Baltimore, and he also made monthly excursions to Queen's Chapel in the neighborhood of Bladensburg. In the Autumn of 1831 he received orders to repair to St. Louis, where a College had lately been erected by the members of the Society whom the Right Rev. Dr. Dubourg had in 1823 obtained for Missouri, which then constituted a part of the Diocese of New Orleans, of which he was Bishop. A combination of embarrassing circumstances had induced the Superiors of the Society in Maryland to decide on the suppression of the Noviciate kept at the White-marsh, finding themselves unable to support it, Dr. Dubourg having come to Washington city to transact some business with the Government became acquainted with the circumstances, and offered to take the Belgian Scholastic Novices, seven in number (Messrs. Verhaegen, Verrydt, Smedts, Elet, Van Assche, De Smet and De Mailliet), and the Master of Novices and his Socius (Rev. Fathers Van Quickenborne and Timmermans), with two or three lay brothers and some colored servants, and to provide for the support in Missouri, offered them a farm near the village of Florissant. Fr. Timmermans died not long after their arrival and Fr. Theodore J. Detheux was sent to replace him. The young Belgians, after having made their simple vows in October of the same year, pursued their Theological studies and were respectively ordained Priests by the Right Rev. Dr. Rosati in

1826 and 1827. They devoted their time to the Missions on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and to the instruction of the Indians. The good Bishop of St. Louis, Dr. Rosati, and the Catholic inhabitants of the city felt desirous to have a College erected under the care of the Fathers of Florissant. The task of building and organizing the College was assigned to the founder of the Mission, the Rev. Charles F. Van Quickenborne. A building 50 x 40 was erected and was opened as a College in November, 1829. The Rev. P. J. Verhaegen was appointed its first president. As the number of students increased, application was made to the General of the Society for a supply of professors and in consequence orders were sent to Fathers Van de Velde and Van Lommel and to Mr. Van Swevelt, then yet a Scholastic, to repair to Missouri. Whilst preparations were being made for their departure from Georgetown, Fr. Van de Velde became dangerously ill of a malignant bilious fever and the two who were to accompany him set out for the place of their destination in order to reach St. Louis before the opening of the schools in September. The Rev. Fr. Peter Kenny had been nominated Visitor of the Missions of Maryland and Missouri, which were then independent of each other, and was preparing to visit the latter in company of the Rev. W. McSherry, whom he had chosen as his socius and secretary. As soon as Father Van de Velde had sufficiently recovered to undertake the journey they set out together from Georgetown on October 4. Having been invited to spend a day at the mansion of the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton at Doughoregan Manor, they partook of his hospitality, and early next morning took the stage for Wheeling. The Ohio river being very low, several days elapsed before they reached Cincinnati, where, after spending a day with the kind Bishop, Right Rev. Edw. Fenwick (who used all his exertions with Rev. Fr. Kenny to obtain Father Van de Velde for president of the Athenium which he was going to open as a College for Catholic students), they took another boat for Louisville and St. Louis. They reached the latter city on October 24, having spent twenty days to perform the journey, and were received with the liveliest demonstrations of joy and affection by the Fathers of the College.

Father Van de Velde was appointed to teach Rhetoric and Mathematics, but at the suggestion of the Visitor, Rev. Father Kenny, was in the ensuing month of February sent to Louisiana with a view to make known the new institution and to procure boarders for it. He was most cordially received by the Bishop of New Orleans, Right Rev. Dr. De Neckere, who gave him letters of recommendation to the Clergymen of the principal Parishes in his Diocese. Father Van de Velde had already visited Natchez and two or three Parishes on the coast of the

Mississippi, and now continued his excursions through Opelousus, Attacapas and along the Red river to Alexandria, Cloutierville and Natchitoches, and in the beginning of April returned to St. Louis with a number of young Louisianians. On his arrival he found that Father Kenny had left for Maryland, where he appointed his Socius, Fr. Wm. McSherry, first Provincial of the Society of that District, leaving the Missions of Missouri under the superintendence of the Very Rev. Father General, and confirming in office their Superior, the Rev. Theodore Dethoux. About the middle of October of the same year, 1832, Fr. Van de Velde again visited Louisiana and arrived there at the very time when the cholera, joined to the yellow fever, spread death and desolation among the inhabitants. He returned to St. Louis the following Spring, 1833, and became Vice-President and Procurator of the College, which had lately been raised to the name and rank of "The University of St. Louis" and the buildings of which had been much extended. He continued to fill these offices till March, 1840, when the Missions of Missouri were erected into a Vice Province of the Society and the Rev. P. J. Verhaegen, then Superior, was nominated its first Provincial. The Rev. John A. Elet succeeded the latter as President of the St. Louis University and Fr. Van de Velde became Procurator of the Vice Province, whilst he still continued to act as Vice-President of the University.

In 1840 the Vice Province of Missouri accepted the College, called Atheneum of Cincinnati, and Rev. Fr. Elet was appointed its first President, the name of the institution having been changed into that of "St. Xavier College." Fr. Van de Velde was appointed to succeed Fr. Elet as Rector of the St. Louis University. The following year he was elected the first to represent the Vice Province of Missouri in the congregation of Procurators at Rome. This was the first time he visited Europe since the time he left it to come to America, nearly 25 years before. Rev. George A. Carroll replaced him as Rector. He left the United States for Havre with Rev. S. Dubuisson, who had been elected by the Province of Maryland. In Paris they were joined by the Procurators of England and Ireland and all set out together for Lyons and Marseilles. Here their company had considerably increased, Right Rev. Bishop Brown of the Lancastershire District and his companion, Rev. Mr. Roskell, Rev. John O'Reilly of Pittsburg and others having joined them on the way. They arrived in Rome on November 3. The Congregation opened on the fourteenth, and during its session Rev. Fr. Kenny, who had been sent by the Vice Province of Ireland, became seriously ill, having caught a severe cold on the way to Rome, which with the asthma under which he labored, hastened his

death. He had assisted at the session in the morning and expired the evening of the same day. During his stay at Rome Fr. Van de Velde had several interviews with the Sovereign Pontiff, Gregory XVI, who took a particular interest in the Missions of Missouri; he left Rome on December 16 in company with Fr. Drach, the Procurator of Switzerland, and they traveled to Bologna by way of Loretto and Ancona. At Modona they were joined by the Right Rev. Bp. Laurent, who had been nominated Vicar Apostolic of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. They journeyed together by Milan and Arona and over Mount Simplon to Switzerland. Having parted with Fr. Drach at Friburg, Monsignor Lourent and Fr. Van de Velde pursued their journey through Alsatia and Lorain to Belgium. The latter remained in his native country till the commencement of the ensuing July, when he left Antwerp for London, and thence sailed on one of the regular packets for New York. On his return to St. Louis he continued Rector of the University till September, 1843, when he was nominated second Provincial of the Society in Missouri, which then besides St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, included also the College and Mission of St. Charles at Grand Coteau in Louisiana.

During his administration he built the Churches of St. Joseph, in St. Louis, of St. Francis Borgia at Washington, Franklin County, and St. Joseph at New Westphalia, and also the spacious structure which now serves as a Noviciate and Scholasticate at St. Stanislaus near Florissant. When the regular term of holding the office of Provincial, which consists of three years, had expired, he repeatedly entreated the Very Rev. Fr. General of the Society to be relieved from the burden, but was continued in office till the month of June, 1842, when he was succeeded by the Rev. John A. Elet, who the year before had visited Rome, having been elected to represent the Vice Province in the Congregation of Procurators. Fr. Van de Velde was then appointed *Socius* of the Provincial and Procurator of the Province.

Towards the end of his administration, the College of St. Charles, Grand Coteau, had been ceded to the Fathers of the Province of Lyons, who had accepted the College of Springhill near Mobile, and negotiations had been commenced to take charge of St. Joseph's College at Bardstown, Kentucky, which had been offered to the Vice Province of Missouri by the venerable Bishop Flaget and his coadjutor, the Right Rev. Dr. Spalding, and to which several of the members of the College of St. Charles that belonged to the Vice Province of Missouri were transferred.

In the beginning of November of the same year Fr. Van de Velde went to New York to transact some business of importance for the

Vice Province. On his return he passed through Baltimore, where on the very day of his arrival the news had reached that the Holy Father had nominated him to the vacant See of Chicago. This intelligence was communicated to him by the Very Rev. L. R. Deluol, Superior of the Sulpitians, and was contained in a letter which the latter had just received from Right Rev. Fr. Chanche, Bishop of Natchez, who was then in Paris and had obtained official information of it from the Apostolic Nuncio, Monsignor Fornari. Fr. Van de Velde left Baltimore the same day before the news of his nomination was known to any of his friends, and out-traveled it till he reached Cincinnati, where a telegraphic despatch announcing it had been received from the Archbishop of Baltimore on the morning of his arrival. On his way to St. Louis he visited Bardstown to consult the Rev. Fr. Verhaegen, then President of St. Joseph's College, concerning the manner in which he should act under the circumstances in which he was placed. It was agreed that he should decline the nomination unless compelled by an express command of his Holiness. He reached St. Louis in the beginning of December. There all was known, and the Brief with a letter freeing him from allegiance to the Society of Jesus and appointing him to the vacant See of Chicago arrived but a few days later. It bore the superscription of the Archbishop of Baltimore, who by letter urged him to accept. Not long before he had been informed by the papers that Rome had fallen into the hands of the Socialist rebels, and that the Holy Father had fled in disguise from the Holy City. Hence Fr. Van de Velde, who was anxious to return the package, knew not whither to send it, and kept it for several days unsealed as he had received it. In the meantime he wrote to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda and to the General of the Society, who had also left Rome, endeavoring to be freed from the burden which it was intended to impose upon him. In his perplexity he went to consult the Archbishop of St. Louis, to know whither he should send the Brief of appointment, in case it should arrive, for no one yet knew that he had received it. The Archbishop, before answering the question, insisted upon knowing whether the Brief had been received. On being answered in the affirmative, and having the package presented to him, he immediately broke the seal and examined its contents. He gave it as his opinion that the letter, if not the Brief, contained a command to accept and used his influence to prevail upon Fr. Van de Velde to do so and to be consecrated without delay. The nominee asked for a delay of six weeks to reflect on the matter, hoping that in the meantime he would receive answers to the letters which he had written to Rome and to France, unwilling to accept the nomination and distrusting his own judgment, he referred the matter

as a case of conscience to three theologians, requesting them to decide whether the words of the letter contained a positive command and, whether in case they did, he was bound under sin to obey. Their decision was in the affirmative and he submitted to the yoke. He was consecrated on Sexagesima Sunday, February 11, 1849, in the Church of St. Francis Xavier, attached to the University, by the Most Rev. Peter R. Kenrick, assisted by the Bishops of Dubuque and Nashville, and the Right Rev. Dr. Spalding delivered the consecrating sermon.

The new Bishop spent nearly a whole month in visiting a considerable portion of his Diocese in the neighborhood of St. Louis, arrived at Chicago on Friday of Passion week and took charge of his See on Palm Sunday. When, some time after order had been restored in the Pontifical States, and the Sovereign Pontiff and the General of the Society had returned to Rome, he wrote in strong terms to beg the Holy Father to accept his resignation and to permit him to retire among his former brethren of the Vice Province of Missouri, alleging as reasons the manner in which he had been compelled to accept at a time when Rome was in the power of the rebels, his advanced age, and the severity of the climate which undermined his constitution. For several years he had been afflicted with rheumatism, which induced him to spend almost yearly the severest winter months in the more genial climate of Louisiana. He received an answer from Cardinal Fransoni, encouraging him to bear the burden with patience and resignation. Not long after this he became involved in difficulties with some of the Clergy of the Diocese, who, on his arrival, held nearly all the ecclesiastical property and still held a considerable portion of it in their own names, and who, by false reports and insidious manoeuvres, had excited much groundless prejudice among the people against him. He wrote a second time to Rome, tendering his unqualified resignation, and adding this as an accessory reason to those formerly alleged. He was answered that his petition would be referred to the first National Council, which was to assemble in Baltimore the following Spring. The Fathers of the National Council were almost unanimous in refusing to accept his resignation. When the question came up it was agreed to divide the State of Illinois into two Dioceses and to make Quincy the See of the Southern portion. Bishop Van de Velde claimed the privilege to take his choice between the two Dioceses and offered his name for Quincy. This, too, was refused, and it was determined that he should remain Bishop of Chicago, and should exert his authority and have recourse to ecclesiastical censures to bring into submission the few refractory clergymen that annoyed him. They seemed to consider this annoyance as the principal reason why he wished to resign.

and to be removed from Chicago and the felt reluctant to establish a precedent that might be appealed to when difficulties should occur in other Dioceses. It was then that Bishop Van de Velde, who intended to visit France and Belgium after the Council, determined to extend his journey to Rome and to lay his case before the Holy Father in person. The Fathers availed themselves of the opportunity to make him hearer of the Decrees of the Council. He left New York for Liverpool on the twenty-ninth of May and arrived at Rome on the twenty-second of the following month. The Holy Father, Pius IX, received and treated him with the greatest kindness and at the first audience he gave him seemed inclined to grant his petition, and either to accept his resignation, or at least to make him coadjutor or Auxiliary Bishop to some other Prelate, that thus he might be restored to the Society of Jesus, which refused to acknowledge as members of its body such as should be compelled to become *titular* Bishops. Towards the close of the interview the kind Pontiff remarked that he would reflect on the matter and consult the Propaganda. It was finally decided that the resignation should not be accepted. At the second audience the affectionate Pontiff told him: "You belong to the regular army of the Church, and I do not wish to give you up. You must continue to fight the battles of Christ. As, however, your principal reasons for wishing to resign are your desire to be a member of the Society of Jesus and the state of your health, which suffers from the cold and damp climate of Chicago, I will make arrangements with the good Father General to have you restored to the Society, and I may transfer you to another See in a more genial climate. Next Sunday night I will give my final answer to Monsignor Barnabo (the Secretary of the Propaganda)." On the following Monday Monsignor Barnabo informed the Bishop that his Holiness had decided not to accept his resignation, but that he would insist upon his being a member of the Society even as *titular* Bishop and would transfer him to another See. He stated that this decision was final and might be depended upon, and he advised the Bishop to take his choice of any of the new Dioceses that were to be erected. He added, also, that the Archbishop of Baltimore and St. Louis would be requested to send in names for supplying his place in the See of Chicago. About this time a document was received by the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, signed by four young Priests of Chicago containing a number of accusations against their Bishop and petitioning to have him removed. The Secretary informed the Bishop of it and told him not to be uneasy about it, as he was too well known in Rome to be injured by accusations that were evidently groundless,

and he added that a letter of reprimand should be sent as an answer to the accusers.

Bishop Van de Velde left Rome on September 16, and, after visiting Florence, Venice, Trieste, Vienna, Lintz, Munich, Augsburg, Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, and Baden, returned by Strasburg and Nancy to Paris, where he arrived on October 19. Having been invited to assist at the consecration of Msgr. de Montpellier, Bishop-elect of Liege, which was to take place on November 7, he availed himself of the intermediate time to pay a flying visit to his old friend and fellow novice, Rev. S. L. Dubuisson, whom he had left in Europe in 1841 and who was then at Vendueil in the family of the Dutchess of Montmorenci, and also to visit some of his former friends in French Flanders, Belgium and Holland. Immediately after the consecration of Msgr. de Montpellier he made an excursion to Aix la Chapelle, Cologne and Munster, whence by the way of Liege, Louvain, Brussels, Malines and Ghent he returned to Paris. Two days after, the seventeenth of November, he set sail from Liverpool for New York, where he arrived on Sunday morning the twenty-eighth of the same month, and, after having said Mass at the Church of St. Francis Xavier, he went to assist at the Consecration of the fine Byzantine Church of the Redemptorists on Third Avenue. He there formed the acquaintance of Msgr. Mosquera, the infirm and persecuted Archbishop of Bogota in the Republic of Granada. The Archbishop of New York prevailed upon all the Bishops who had assisted at the consecration to remain in the city for the purpose of partaking of a splendid dinner which he gave in honor of the persecuted Prelate. Bishop Van de Velde reached Chicago the week before Christmas.

Several months elapsed after his arrival from Europe, and as he knew that before he reached the United States positive directions had been sent from Rome to have names forwarded for Chicago and perceived that no measures were being taken for his removal from that See and was informed that strong opposition would be made to it, he deemed it proper to write to the Holy Father to remind him of his promise, and lest his nomination to one of the new Sees might become a cause of dissatisfaction, he suggested his desire to be transferred to the See of Natchez which had become vacant by the death of its first Bishop, the Right Rev. J. J. Chanche. His petition was granted, and whilst engaged in laying the cornerstone of a church in Carlyle, he received information that the Brief appointing him to the See of Natchez had arrived at St. Louis. By the same mail the Very Rev. Joseph Melcher, Vice General of St. Louis, received the Briefs by which the City of St. Louis was erected into an Episcopal See and he

appointed its first Bishop, and, at the same time, Administrator of the Diocese of Chicago, till a Bishop should be nominated for the latter See. As the Very Rev. Gentleman refused to accept the nomination and sent back the Briefs of erection and appointment to Rome, Bishop Van de Velde was requested by the Archbishop of St. Louis to act as Administrator of the two Dioceses. Not long after the cold season having already set in and he feeling desirous to repair to his new See, the Administration of the Northern Diocese (Chicago) was committed to the Right Rev. Dr. Henni of Milwaukee, whilst the Archbishop took upon himself that of the Diocese of Quincy. Bishop Van de Velde left Chicago on November 3, and after having visited Quincy and bought an eligible lot on which to erect a Cathedral, he set out for Natchez where he arrived on the twenty-third of the same month. He left it on the twenty-fifth to assist at the consecration of the Right Rev. A. Martin, first Bishop of Natchitoches, which took place on the feast of St. Andrew in the Cathedral of New Orleans. Thence, he repaired to Mobile to make a spiritual Retreat before entering upon his duties in his new Diocese, after which he visited some of the Congregations along the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, and took formal possession of his See on Sunday, December 18, 1853.

INSTITUTIONS CONDUCTED BY THE SISTERS OF ST. FRANCIS, SPRING- FIELD, ILLINOIS

ST. JOHN'S SANITARIUM

Under date of January 17, 1917, the Springfield papers announced to their reading public the astounding news that arrangements had been perfected whereby a half million dollar institution was soon to be erected within hailing distance of the city. This projected building had been in contemplation for some time, in fact it had been a subject uppermost in the minds of its projectors for several years, but awaited only a favorable and auspicious time for its execution and realization. The Ven. Mother Marciana, together with the Reverend Director Straub, had conceived and evolved this herculean undertaking. Having for years been witnesses of the alarming inroads which that dreadful Great White Plague, Tuberculosis, had caused and increasingly continued to cause among the members of the human family in Central Illinois as well as in every other section of the United States, they decided to widen the scope and sphere of St. John's Hospital so that it could likewise embrace tubercular patients who, in many cases up to that time, had been rigorously excluded from ordinary hospital treatment. The reason for this was of their hitherto supposed infectious character as well as for the sake of allaying in the minds of interne patients all fear of any such possible contamination. The hospital was to be absolutely immune from this infectious disease, nay, the least suspicion of its presence was to be banished and eliminated. Statistics of recent years have demonstrated the enormous mortality due to this ever spreading disease, hence national, state and county sanitarium are given generous allowances and liberal appropriations for the care and treatment of tubercular patients. Not so here; St. John's noble venture is a private undertaking, born of charity, inspired by commiseration for the afflicted, and dependent for subsistence on its own resources. For the love of God and the sake of suffering mankind do the good Sisters put forth their very best efforts to help stamp out this terrible infliction. They cheerfully sacrifice, if need be, their own lives to save the lives of others.

In the eighth revised edition of a circular on consumption, issued by the Illinois Board of Health, we read: "Of all diseases common to man, it is the most widespread and the most deadly. Other diseases have caused more dismay, more panic and occasionally, for

shorter periods, even wider destruction, but consumption has been the most constant pestential of all—the worst scourge of mankind. Consumption was the cause of seven thousand deaths in Illinois in 1908,—nearly twice as many deaths as were caused by typhoid fever, diphtheria, scarlet fever, influenza, whooping cough and measles combined. The death rate from consumption was more than six times greater than from other communicable (contagious or infectious) disease. Fully one-seventh of all mankind die of this disease. . It is estimated that one million lives are lost by it throughout Europe and that 150,000 persons die each year in the United States of some form of consumption.

St. John's Sanitarium as proposed was soon, in 1919, to become a reality. It was to be a boon for the tubercular poor whose means were limited, for the average workman and his family whose pocket-book would not permit expensive trips to the Rockies, Arizona, California or New Mexico. For these and many others St. John's was to be a much desired haven of rest and repose where pure and invigorating air, abundant wholesome food, scrupulous cleanliness and loving care would greatly be conducive to the return of new life into disease-stricken, worn-out bodies and to strengthen enfeebled constitutions. The site of this institution is ideal. Surrounded by well cultivated farm lands, timber and water, the buildings perched on the highest point of Sangamon County, which insures the maximum of fresh, pure air and sunshine and permits the patients attractive views in all directions. The buildings, absolutely fireproof, are of the most scientific construction, modeled somewhat after the Sanitarium erected in recent years by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, near Saratoga Springs, N. J. The site lies one mile west of Roverton, on the Illinois Traction System, interurban and Wabash railroads, six miles east of Springfield, Camp Butler being but one-half mile away. The institution harbors today almost three hundred consumptive patients. It is filled to capacity.

July 18, 1919, will always remain a red letter day in the annals of St. John's Sanitarium. The work in the interior of the new building had proceeded rather slowly, but gradually, after much patience borne, and many disappointments of various nature overcome, it neared its completion. That day when it would be permitted the good sisters to take formal possession of the new home, had been looked forward to with a sense of keen expectancy by the whole community, and many were the pronounced questions: "Who are to be the chosen ones to be sent there?" During recreation hours the foremost topic of conversation among all the Sisters and the one uppermost in their

minds was, "Will I be among the ones?" At length when the long-looked for day had arrived the Ven. Mother Marciana made the following appointments known: Sister Anastasia as Superioress of the Sanitarium, to be assisted by the Sisters Elizabeth, Cornelia, Stefana, Bernarda and Plautilla, to whom was added the next day Sister Leontia. This band of six was given orders to set out for their assigned destination that very day. Happy at their appointment, they gathered their few belongings and, accompanied by the prayers, felicitations and good wishes of the community, our brave sisters landed at their new place of labor soon after.

Whilst on their way thither, they had a very narrow escape from serious accident, nay, even from death. Riding in a big auto-van which, in addition, contained milk cans, barrels, expressage, etc., they were enclosed by heavy canvas side curtains which impeded a free survey of things on the outside. Just in the act of passing over a railroad crossing, to the horror of the chauffeur, an oncoming freight train was sighted in the near distance coming down upon them with irresistible force and impetus. Already did the front wheels of the automobile touch the rails when the poor chauffeur had become paralyzed and stunned with fear. The helpless sisters seated in the tonneau were almost frightened to death. They now saw the big black volumes of smoke vomitted forth from the engine's funnel, they heard the hiss of escaping steam and jarring of ponderous wheels, the rumbling noises of the approaching train, seemed as so many sonorous voices announcing their doom. Sister Anastasia, however, recovered sufficient presence of mind to shout to the driver: "For God's sake, reverse the engine; quick, quick." A jerk on the lever, the engine obeyed, the auto backed off the track, whilst its human freight, together with milk cans, boxes, barrels and parcels landed sprawling in the ditch. No matter what scratches and bruises our passengers had sustained, their lives were saved from a horrible fate. Before they had time to fully realize their providential escape from imminent destruction, the train had sped past them. With a fervent prayer upon their lips, our sisters resumed their journey towards their destination.

With vim and vigor, undaunted by the amount of hard work which awaited them, they at once began the laborious task of cleaning, sweeping, scarping and scouring halls and rooms of the unsightly mess of rubbish and debris left in the wake of plasterers, painters, carpenters, plumbers, cement-workers, etc. Never did frail bodies put within a day's limits so many hours of hard work as did these willing and cheerful workers the first days after their arrival, so that before long

a wonderful change in appearance had been effected. From basement to upper story everything began to look spick and span and to assume an air of orderliness. The improvised chapel, which was furnished only with the most necessary and indispensable articles such as a small altar from the St. John's private chapel, resurrected pews long since discarded, faded stations of the cross chromos of the cheapest kind, received their first attention, so that a few days later, July 18, St. Camillus' Day, the good Sisters had the happy satisfaction of assisting at the first holy Mass ever said in the new institution. It was a High Mass celebrated at 6:15 by Rev. Joseph Straub, the indefatigable promoter of the great undertaking. His slogan during the erection of the majestic building, "nihil desperandum," was this memorable day crowned with signal success. At the small parlor organ borrowed for the occasion was seated Sister Magdalene as organist, whilst the choir was composed of Ven. Mother Marciana, Sisters Anastasia, Elizabeth and Stefana, a quartette of warblers, who on this occasion especially did themselves proud. And no wonder, had not every one of them, foremost the Mother, who, though advanced in years, yet still young and fresh of voice, contributed a marked share to the hastening day? Ah, the eighteenth of July was a gala day for all concerned and will remain forever deeply engraven in the grateful hearts of all participants, the more so as from this day dates the continuous presence of Our Lord in the chapel's tabernacle.

With the admittance of patients, more Sisters and nurses had to be requisitioned from the mother house. Again and again was Mother Marciana importuned to send more help. To these incessant appeals she was finally forced to yield. Hence Sisters Bernadette, Stella and Sanctia were ordered to augment the small colony at the Sanitarium. They were now ten in number, yet far too few to successfully cope with the multitudinous duties that awaited them from the moment when the portals were to swing open to admit the victims of the White Plague. And these later came in such numbers that within little time all rooms and wards were practically filled. The first patient was received on September 16, 1919.

Dr. East of Springfield, an eminent specialist on tuberculosis, became Medical Director of the institution. The heroic and self-sacrificing Sisters in the hospital service sustain in their work numerous untimely victims to their chosen calling. The many long vigils, early and late hours, incessant work seven days in the week, the rigid observance of religious vows and community rules,—all these daily recurrences contribute to undermine many not over-robust constitu-

tions; they fall an easy prey to lurking sickness and dangerous exposures which not infrequently end in tuberculosis. Whilst the thus infected Sisters prior to the erection of the Sanitarium had undergone treatment in general hospitals, they now are cared for in a place where everything is of strictly modern and scientific arrangement, calculated to conquer this insidious enemy of the human body. To the already established community there was then an increase of more than a dozen sick Sisters, gathered from the various branch houses of the order. They are chronicled on the records of the institution. Three of them went to their eternal reward shortly after being admitted, viz.: Sister Arnolfa, November 14, 1919; Rufina, January 13, 1920; Georgia, March 12, 1920, and Urbana. The little cemetery in close proximity to the institution, received their tired and wornout bodies whilst their spirits entered eternal glory. A prayer is said every morning after Mass for the repose of all the souls of the departed Sisters. Though out of sight, yet the sweet memory of them lives on forever fresh in the hearts of their sorrowing companions. Thither, then, the latter love to direct their steps when able to snatch an hour's recreation from their day's work and, kneeling down in prayer, commune with a merciful God in behalf of their beloved departed ones. The well-kept, flower-covered graves eloquently speak of the bond of love and sympathy that continues to unite the living with the dead. A neat iron picket fence, which formerly surrounded the Sisters' Hospital at Green Bay, Wisconsin, does excellent service here. It was shipped by freight in the spring of 1919 to the institution and at once set in proper position. It is not only useful for its purpose, but likewise ornamental to the place. A mortuary chapel on the cemetery grounds, together with a superb Crucifixion group, are possibilities within the still uncertain future.

ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL, STREATOR, ILLINOIS

An interesting conversation was carried on one day on a railway train between two prominent citizens of Streator. The topic about which their views were exchanged was one that touched their own personal interests as well as that of the community at large. Streator in those days was making great strides in the way of progress, prosperity and expansion. Coal mines, glass works, smelters and other industrial enterprises all tended to make for a greater city; business boomed, real estate soared, the population had doubled, the city's future seemed safe and secure. The two travelers thus engaged in

earnest conversation were none less than Colonel Plumb and Father O'Kelly, who died in September, 1923, having been pastor of St. Patrick's parish of Streator for upwards of forty years.

"Is there anything you could suggest for the betterment and welfare of our town," asked the Colonel of the priest.

"Yes, there is," answered the latter to the interrogator, "the one necessary thing which we are still in need of is a hospital."

"Well," responded Mr. Plumb, "if you can procure nurses to run a hospital I'll subscribe the first \$1,000 towards it."

In due time Father O'Kelly submitted his pet plan of having a hospital at Streator, to the authorities of Springfield. The field was looked over and declared favorable to the proposed enterprise. The following Sisters were thereupon dispatched to help realize the undertaking: Sister Crispina as superior, Sisters Bonaventure, Methodia and Macaria. This was on July 26, 1887. It had been decided to open a temporary hospital at once and not to wait for the proposed erection and completion of the new building. To do this, they rented and later purchased the A. R. Vanskiver residence, located at the southwest corner of Bloomington and Sixth Streets. However, since these quarters soon became cramped and inadequate for many needs and necessities of hospital requirements, the new structure was pushed and hurried to completion. It had been designed after the original St. John's of Springfield and let to the firm of A. Laughlin & Sons on October 22, 1887, at the cost of \$75,000. The piece of property upon which the new hospital was located is bounded by Bloomington and Sixth, Park and Wabash R. R. tracks—opposite their temporary frame home—and was purchased from Mr. Plumb for the sum of \$4,750. The speed with which the new hospital building was brought to completion may be gathered from the fact that the three story building opened its doors to the public October 7, 1888, and before many days had elapsed most of the sick rooms had become peopled with patients. But with the continued growth of Streator, the bed capacity of the new hospital became insufficient. Hence, on June 24, 1902, a large addition, equal, if not greater than the original, was built to the east of the first building and the principal structure raised to three floors with a corridor running east and west. The new addition was, likewise, three stories high, and a modern operating room was provided for the north side of the new part, Lamont Swisher being the architect and contractor. It was opened the following year, the spring of 1903.

In 1913 another addition became a necessity owing to the ever increasing demands of hospital facilities, not only by the sick of

Streator, but by those of outlying towns and rural districts as well. It was built to the south of the old buildings, equal to the first and second in capacity. St. Mary's as it stands today, is justly the pride of Streator, the glory of the nursing Sisterhood, the welcome haven of the afflicted.

Praise and gratitude is daily meted out to it by hundreds, for the good and gentle Franciscan Sisters, ever tireless in their efforts to relieve the sick and maimed, have endeared themselves to every man, woman and child in an uncommon degree. The latest innovation in their hospital service was the opening of an obstetrical department or maternity ward. The staff of eminent physicians and surgeons, together with a number of well trained nurses, have greatly added to the popularity and efficiency of St. Mary's.

The Franciscan Fathers of the nearby St. Anthony's Convent have had charge of the spiritual affairs of the hospital from its very incipency. Father Dominic, who, with youthful zest and ardor, has watched over and directed its affairs, was the spiritual director of the community for many years. He died in 1925. With the year 1914 permanent chaplains were appointed for Sisters and hospital. They were in rotation:

Father Floribert, 1914-1917; Father Clete, 1917-1918; Father Lawrence, 1918-1919.

Father Bede, a former Commissary of the Holy Land, whither he visited in an official capacity a few years ago, is the present chaplain since 1919. The consecutive superioresses of the hospital since its beginning, in 1887, were:

Ven. Sister Crispina, Foundres, and Sisters Bonaventure, Candida, Vanoso, Theotima, Archangela, Liberia, Stanislaus, Julitta, Facunda.

May God's bountiful blessings forever rest on dear St. Mary's Hospital of Streator, Illinois!

ST. VINCENT'S HOSPITAL, GREEN BAY, WISCONSIN

This noble institution, which ranks in importance next to St. John's, Springfield, Ill., was opened in that splendid and progressive city December 12, 1888. No better location for it could have been selected. Masterful and sublime do the crystal waters of the Fox River roll past the city, setting in motion thousands of wheels in shop and factory, vastly contributing to her wealth and enterprise and inviting capital for lucrative investment. Her lay and religious institutions, pretentious schools and pompous churches, fine business blocks

and shaded streets lined with snug and comfortable residences, combine to make Green Bay a very desirable place to live in. Of her 40,000 inhabitants it is estimated 60 per cent are Catholic. St. Vincent's enjoys a wide patronage and enviable reputation, mainly due to unselfish and heroic efforts of the good Sisters, whose every hour of the day and night is cheerfully devoted to the comfort of the sick patients, as well as to the excellent staff of physicians and surgeons who jealously maintain its high character of efficiency. Among the latter we meet with names that have acquired lustre and prominence among the members of the medical fraternity. They will forever remain identified with the destinies of St. Vincent's. And there is Green Bay's lore in history. Where is there a place within our country's borders that is competitive with her glorious past, her general rendezvous "for explorers, discoverers and evangelizers?" What early settlement or trading post can boast of a Marquette, Brebeuf, Lallemand, Allouez, La Salle, Joliet and a host of other explorers, all of whom often gathered for a season at a time at the confluence of the Fox into the Bay, and whose names and deeds will remain forever inscribed upon the pages of early American history. Laudable efforts have in recent years been undertaken by the members of the Wisconsin Historical Society by placing markers in the shape of bronze tablets and granite boulders properly inscribed to memorialize the activities of these pioneer explorers and settlers for which thoughtfulness of future generations will bless them.

Here, then, in this romantic and historic city of Green Bay, the Franciscan Sisters some thirty-seven years ago opened their hospital, placing it under the protection and patronage of that illustrious man of christian charity, St. Vincent de Paul, after whom innumerable philanthropic and charitable organizations throughout the world are called. Small, poor and insignificant were its first beginnings in the vacant property of the late Dr. Van Norstrand on Quincy Street. This improvised hospital was made to serve its purposes, however, till 1894, when, in consideration of \$6,000, it passed into the hands of Dr. John Minahan. Some years later it was destroyed by fire. Five Sisters, headed by Sister Arnolpha as Superioress, were detailed from Springfield to assume charge of the undertaking. And what did they find on arriving at Green Bay? Bethlemetic poverty and destitution in a 23-room house. They found one wobbly chair, four old-fashioned wooden bedsteads without springs, not to speak of mattress, sheets and quilts, a cracked, rusted cookstove minus legs standing on a few brickbats, a cracker box served them as a pantry, a battered-in kettle placed on the cookstove performed laundry duty, a leaky

roof permitted on rainy days an inundation of halls and rooms. From amid the discarded rubbish in the wood shed the various broken parts of another cookstove were resurrected. With help of wire these pieces were rigged together again by the inventive genius of Sister Felice, so that now they had a separate laundry stove. Milk and butter had been such rare delicacies for them the first week after their arrival that they had almost lost the taste of them. "But we found a good man, who, accepting our honest looks as sufficient security, loaned us \$50.00, said the managing Sister. With this capital sum we purchased a cow with calf, which gave us milk, butter and cheese galore; the remaining \$5.00 we invested in chickens, a hoe, a spade and axe and a few yards of toweling. The following spring a small vegetable garden was planted with all kinds of seeds, such as potatoes, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, onions, etc., and a few flower beds laid out. Everything grew and prospered wonderfully and we all felt absolutely happy and contented."

The temporary hospital afforded accommodation for housing fifteen patients, but to obtain these accommodations the Sisters vacated their own beds in favor of the sick, and for many months betook themselves to the garret, where practically the bare planks of the floor served their tired bodies as beds for rest. There, under the leaky roof which freely permitted the study of astronomy, they froze in winter and sweltered in summer. And when at times the hospital became crowded with patients they simply packed three in a bed, two lengthwise and one with the help of a chair crosswise. The largest room in the house, situated on the ground floor, did service as parlor and reception room, operating room, drug room and dining room. Here it was that on repeated occasions Bishop Messmer and the city clergy gathered for dinner.

The hitherto location of St. Vincent's proved, however, to be ultimately and permanently not so desirable as wished for. An opportunity presented itself of acquiring a much more advantageous site than it occupied since 1888, and this was, in 1894, on Webster Street. It was decided there to build a new, and in place of the old, insufficient quarters, to construct a commodious and modern, up-to-date hospital that should be fully capable of answering all requirements which might be demanded of it by a suffering public. At the suggestion of Father Recklin, pastor of St. John's parish of that city, who proved himself a life long friend and benefactor of the Sisters' community, acting for more than twenty-eight years their confessor, eight lots were purchased for a consideration of \$3,200. Work on the new building was commenced in the spring of 1895 and finished in Sep-

tember of that year, entailing an outlay of \$27,000. Mr. Joseph Foeller carrying out the contract according to plans and specifications submitted to and approved by Director Father L. Hinssen. The hospital was thereupon incorporated under the laws and statutes of the State of Wisconsin which made it obligatory on the corporation regularly at the times stated in the by-laws to hold an election of officers. At various subsequent times enlargements were made and additions added as can be seen by the engraved dates carved in stone. There it stands today in all its pride and glory as one of the foremost hospitals of the great Badger State, carrying annually on an average of patients with a capacity of more than two hundred beds. The Sister who, with great vision and enterprise, furthered the interests of St. Vincent's so successfully during more than thirty-five years is the humble and self-effacing Sister Felice, still spry and active in attending the sick, notwithstanding her advanced age. An invaluable assistant, a strong help and support in all things concerning the welfare and development of the hospital, was given her in the person of Sister Aurea, who, for some twenty-one years, proved to be the right hand to the Superioress. It is rather difficult to couch in words of praise and grateful acknowledgment the many services, kind actions, generous benevolences so unselfishly bestowed upon the hospital and its ministering Sisters by the members of the medical staff. It is greatly owing to them that the institution has attained such high standard of efficiency and great degree of popularity. Will it be offensive to the modesty of the eminent surgeons, the Drs. Minihan, who morally and financially have helped the hospital onward in its path of progress to say that the Sisters' community is especially thankful to them.

The cornerstone to the present handsome chapel was placed August 15, 1907, and the finished building solemnly blessed by Bishop Fox and attending clergy May 9, 1908. A cash donation of \$1,000 was given towards its completion by Dr. Minihan, whilst Father Ricklin shouldered the expense (\$800) for its frescoeing, a diocesan priest who wished his name to remain unknown, paid for the graceful and expensive altar, Mr. Patrick Glynn erected the Blessed Virgin's altar and Contractor J. Fieller that of St. Joseph. The organ was given by Father Spranger.

St. Vincent's Hospital is bounded as follows: North by Lawrence Street, south by Palier Street, east by Webster Avenue, and west by Vanburen Street, occupying less than one city block.

The Superioresses, who, during all these thirty-seven years, presided with so much success, tact and ability over the destinies of St. Vincent's are:

Sister Arnolpha, December 13, 1888-June 13, 1889.

Sister Felice, June 13, 1889-May 1, 1920.

Sister Aurea, May 1, 1920-May 1, 1921.

Sister Hermana, May 1, 1921—

Of Sister Felice it may here be added that prior to her advent to Green Bay she was stationed at the orphanage of Belleville, Ill. Whilst there engaged in the care of the little waifs she witnessed the terrible catastrophe of the burning of the Notre Dame convent in that city January 5, 1883, by which four Sisters and twenty-two young girls lost their lives. Sister Felice, in fact, was the first to sound the alarm, thereby undoubtedly saving many a precious life from similar terrible fate.

Chaplains: 1888-Dec., 1895, attended from Bishop's house, city; Dec., 1895-Jan., 1909, Rev. A. Abb; 1909, for six months, Premonstration Fathers; Aug., 1909-1911, Rev. C. Ulrich; Fall, 1911-Jan., 1918, Rev. N. Hens; 1918, for seven months attended by Franciscan Fathers; Oct., 1918-Aug., 1920, Rev. Joseph Hemmer; Nov., 1920-May, 1922, Rev. J. A. Bartelme; 1922, for three months attended by Franciscan Fathers; June, 1923—, Rev. J. A. Selbach. Number of Sisters now 45.

The number of patients admitted to St. Vincent's Hospital in 1924 amounted to 6,957.

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In connections with the above article it seems but just to append a brief sketch of Rev. Leo Alphonse Ricklin, Benefactor of St. Vincent's, Confessor of the Sisters.

Rev. Leo Alphonse Ricklin, one of the most prominent priests of the Green Bay Catholic Diocese, and pastor of St. John's Church of that city for a number of years, expired at four o'clock in the afternoon of April, 1915, after an illness of several months. He was first stricken with hemorrhages, then suffered with a complication of diseases. Father Ricklin was near death several times after his protracted sickness, but his remarkable vitality kept him alive when a person of weaker constitution would have been claimed by death.

The last big work undertaken by Father Ricklin was that of erecting the magnificent church at the corner of Madison and Monroe Streets.

The funeral of Father Ricklin was held the following Tuesday morning at ten o'clock from the St. John's Church, where a Solemn Requiem was sung by Most Rev. Archbishop S. G. Messmer. Interment took place in the priest's lot in Allouez Cemetery.

Father Leo Alphonse Ricklin was born in the city of Strassburg, in Alsace (then as now a part of France), on October 3, 1849. Upon completing his studies in the elementary schools in his native city he spent three years at Colmar. The next five years were devoted to the higher studies in the University of Strassburg. Having been graduated from this institution with great honors, he accepted a two years' professorship at Tours, as he was too young for ordination. On March 13, 1873, he was ordained to the priesthood in the famous Cathedral of Strassburg. After his ordination he spent seven years as assistant at the St. George Church, Hagenau. In 1880 on account of his brilliant talents he was made the editor of *L'Union D'Alsace-Lorraine* which paper acted an important role in the Alsatian problem after the war of 1870 when the former French province was brought under the Prussian regime. As editor of the paper, he was made to feel the effects of the bitter Prussian hatred of the Church which was so rampant at that time. Father Ricklin being a very determined man, persisted in upholding the rights of the Catholics, but to no avail, the paper was finally suppressed by the Prussian Government, but only after the editor had undergone a series of convictions and imprisonments.

While still a student he spent his vacation-months visiting European countries, each time visiting a different country, Belgium, Italy, England, Ireland and Spain were visited in this manner. In so doing he learned the customs and languages of the various peoples which gave him a broader view of life in all its aspects, an acquirement so necessary to one who is to be the leader of the people.

In 1888 he came to America, laboring for some time among the Indians along the Red River in North Dakota. Later he assumed the pastorate of the pro-Cathedral at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, being at the same time secretary to Bishop Marty.

In 1891 he pursued a course of studies in the Catholic University at Washington, D. C., where he became the intimate friend of Rev. S. G. Messmer, then professor of Canon Law at the University. When the latter came to Green Bay to fill the vacant Bishopric, Father Ricklin accompanied him and became his secretary and chancellor for a period of two years, after which time he was appointed pastor of the St. John's Church in 1894.

During his stay at St. John's he has done remarkable work both from the spiritual and material standpoint. After a disastrous fire years ago which utterly destroyed the time-honored St. John's Church, Father Ricklin, although then in extremely feeble health, set to work with renewed zeal and determination, and succeeded in erect-

ing the new St. John's Church, one of the finest churches in the State. This church will ever remain a monument to his priestly devotion both to his people and to the Catholic Church.

As a priest Father Ricklin was revered and respected by all, Catholic and Protestant alike. Besides being a highly educated man, he was also an accomplished musician. He was a man of firm conviction and purpose, and at all times bent upon doing his duty no matter what the cost. Much that he has accomplished would never have been effected save through his punctual and methodical trend which was so characteristic of his life. For ten years he had been declining in health, and it was with intense pain that he many a time persisted in carrying out his work. With his demise the people realized the close of a noble life well spent in the Vineyard of the Lord whose reward will be the eternal possession of Heavenly bliss with the Angels and saints.

R. I. P.

*St. John's Sanitarium
Springfield, Illinois.*

(Rev.) A. ZURBOUSEN.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

The Twenty-eighth International Eucharistic Congress in History. The Twenty-eighth International Eucharistic Congress is now history and with the close of the fifth day's exercises at Mundelein a glorious page was written in the annals of the Church in the archdiocese of Chicago.

For more than a year and a half the Chicago committee labored on the vast details and their efforts were crowned with success. Thousands of visiting clergy and laymen—an uncounted multitude whose proportions were not ascertainable but whose number has been estimated at one million—were welcomed to the city, housed and fed, and all were edified by the manner in which the proceedings of the congress were carried out. Eleven princes of the church, in the cardinal red robes of their high office, were the leading participants in this latter-day exemplification of our Faith in Holy Mother Church and the fourth city of the world was host to the thousands of clergy and laity from all parts of the world who flocked here to participate in the exercises of the Congress.

The first public meeting held in connection with the Congress was the reception to Cardinal Bonzano, Legate of the Pope, at the Coliseum on Thursday evening, June 17th. At this meeting D. F. Kelly, K. C. S. G., presided and Hon. William E. Dever, Mayor of Chicago, Hon. Len Small, Governor of Illinois and Hon. James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor, representing Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States, delivered warm addresses of welcome. Representing the Catholic laymen, Hon. Robert M. Sweitzer welcomed the Papal Legate and Hon. Samuel Insull spoke on behalf of the non-Catholics. Cardinal Bonzano responded eloquently and feelingly.

Aside from the main activities of the congress, which begun with the civic welcome to His Eminence, John Cardinal Bonzano, the Papal Legate, on Thursday, June 17, there were many local parish celebrations, extra Masses and all forms of devotional exercises made possible by the presence of many dignitaries of the church. His Eminence, George Cardinal Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, patron of the Congress, had promised the Holy Father, Pope Pius XI, that more than 1,000,000 of the faithful would approach the communion rail on Sunday, the official opening day, and this was amply fulfilled.

The procession from Quigley Seminary to the Holy Name Cathedral on Sunday morning for the Solemn Pontifical High Mass and the formal welcoming and installation of the papal legate, formally opened the congress and drew forth many bits of inspired writing from official observers representing the press of the world. The writers, many of them not of the Catholic faith, were deeply impressed.

The address of welcome was delivered at the Mass Sunday by Cardinal Mundelein, to which the papal legate responded. The first of the sectional language meetings was held in the afternoon and a holy hour was observed in all churches of the archdiocese that night.

The first general meeting of the congress—Children's Day—was held on Monday in the stadium of Soldier Field at Grant Park and the attendance

has been officially estimated by experts of the city of Chicago at 500,000, of which the nucleus was the group of 62,000 parochial school children. They sang the Mass of the Angels, under the direction of Professor Otto A. Singenberger, director of music at the Seminary of St. Mary-of-the-Lake, Mundelein, Illinois, at which the papal legate was celebrant. In the afternoon the priests' latin sectional meeting was held at the Municipal Pier and in the evening the Coliseum was jammed to capacity for the first sectional meeting of the English speaking group.

On Tuesday the second general meeting—Women's Day— was held, and His Eminence, William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, presided. It was marked by the presence of thousands of nuns. The celebrant was The Most Rev. Paul Giobbe, D. D., apostolic nuncio, United States of Colombia. The priests' eucharistic league met at Quigley Seminary in the afternoon. In the evening, the general meeting for men only, under auspices of the Holy Name Society was held in the stadium.

One of the most beautiful ceremonies of the congress came during this meeting. At the benediction the men lighted candles and the massed glow of golden light made a never-to-be-forgotten picture for the memories of all present.

On Wednesday, June 23—Higher Education Day—His Eminence, Dennis Cardinal Dougherty, archbishop of Philadelphia, presided and the Rt. Rev. Edward F. Hoban, D. D., Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago and president of the congress, was celebrant of the Pontifical High Mass. The day was featured by afternoon and evening meetings at the Coliseum.

For the closing exercises at Mundelein on Thursday the transportation facilities of the city were taxed to the utmost and it is estimated that upwards of 750,000 journeyed to Mundelein, Illinois. The papal legate was celebrant of the Mass, at which His Eminence, Patrick Cardinal Hayes, Archbishop of New York, preached the sermon. The procession of the Blessed Sacrament started from the altar immediately after the sermon, passed around the shores of the lake and back to the altar, a distance of about three miles, where benediction was given. The congress closed with the imparting of the papal blessing by Cardinal Bonzano.

Religion a Necessity. Many beautiful and forceful statements were made during the Eucharistic Congress and it has been noticeable that earnest men are so nearly in agreement. Examples of this are found in the letter of President Coolidge read by Secretary James J. Davis, and the address of Mayor Dever to Cardinal Bonzano.

President Coolidge said:

"If the requirements of character be withdrawn from our business structure the whole fabric would collapse. . . . If our country has achieved any political success, if our people are attached to the Constitution, it is because our institutions are in harmony with their religious belief."

Mayor Dever said:

"Thinking men, I am sure, will agree with me when I say that un-influenced by religion, civil government could not endure. Should some

event or circumstance, inconceivable I grant, overthrow, obliterate Christianity, civil government would collapse.”

Press Correspondents Deeply Moved. The size, character and splendor of the Eucharistic Congress which brought a million people to Chicago impressed news correspondents deeply.

James O'Donnell Bennett, one of the most experienced newspapermen now living said:

“Learned historiographers of the church declare that nothing comparable to the devotional outpouring which ushered in the second day of the Twenty-eighth International Eucharistic Congress is recorded in the annals of Catholicism.”

James Francis Corcoran, another master reporter, says:

“Nothing else in the realm of sacredness, pomp, patriotism and down-right devotion now remains to be etched on the scroll of time.

“The Eucharistic Congress, brilliant and profound in the enactment of its third day of pageantry, achieved the limit of regal grandeur and princely rituals on Soldiers' Field.”

While John Bradford Main proclaims rapturously:

“One of the strangest and most beautiful tapestries mankind has ever seen, today was laid before the high altar here in Soldiers' Field.

“Colorful beyond description, it was rich beyond words, as precious as life itself. Indeed, its very warp and woof were human souls—the souls of countless women, hundreds upon hundreds, thousands upon thousands, tens of thousands upon tens of thousands, drawn from the four corners of the earth.”

The Candle. James O'Donnell Bennett has given the world a new classic on the Candle:

Catholic and non-Catholic alike were, it may truly be said, overcome by what they first had seen. The police officers who guarded the throngs may fairly be supposed not to be o'er susceptible persons, but I saw many a stalwart of the force viewing the tableau of the candles with swimming eyes, and when it faded and flickered from view, and when the onrush of lights was withdrawn from the altar, and when the cardinal princes and the episcopal lords on the slopes of the predella and—mark this—the humble, toil worn, candle bringing Mexican laborers who work in railroad yards—had risen from their knees, the words ran among the thousands almost as one whisper, “I never in my life saw anything so beautiful!”

It could hardly have been more beautiful, and been enduring. It was one of the white nights of the soul, and it brought moments that as austere subdued the heart as rapturously they exalted it.

And to the worshipper this jubilation of the candles carried a significance so heart searching that one who was among them only as reverent onlooker can but faintly estimate it.

For this is the significance and this the message of every one of those flaming tapers which kneeling men lifted to the altar of their Christ:

“The light of Faith and the fire of the Love of God.”

Such was the oblation of those acres of flowers of flame!

It was at this vast meeting that Right Reverend Edward F. Hoban, Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago administered the solemn and impressive citizen's pledge:

“I pledge my loyalty to my flag and my country and to the God-given principles of freedom, justice and happiness for which it stands. I pledge my support to all lawful authority, both civil and religious. I dedicate my manhood to the honor of the sacred name of Jesus Christ and beg that He will keep me faithful to these pledges until death.”

Clear and strong came the lines of the pledge from the amplifiers as Bishop Hoban repeated it. Like a roar of mighty armies came back the responses as the hundred eighty thousand repeated the words after him.

Best Known History Worker Dies. Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, librarian of the State Historical Library of Illinois and Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society died last month. Mrs. Weber was known all over the United States for her work in connection with history and was highly esteemed by all who knew her. She was the daughter of Governor John M. Palmer who also held the rank of General in the army and was a United States Senator. Indeed John M. Palmer was one of the leading men of Illinois during all his long and busy life.

Mrs. Weber had devoted the greater part of her life to the gathering, disseminating and preservation of history and was eminently successful. For years she has been the pivot upon which all history activities have revolved. Many others have been interested and able workers in the field of history but Mrs. Weber was the sustaining power of all the important movements. To say that she will be sorely missed is putting it weakly. It may be that her place will never be as completely filled.

GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS

Oregon Geographic Names.—A work of pioneer research, by Lewis A. McArthur, tracing the origin and meaning of names given to localities in Oregon, has just begun to be issued in the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for December, 1925. Names covering the letters A to C are included. "The origin of geographic names in Oregon may be traced roughly to five periods in the history of the State," he writes in his preface, "and in most instances the names themselves indicate approximately during which epoch they were applied. These five periods may be described as follows: First, the period of the exploration by sea along the Oregon coast line, with resulting names strongly Spanish in flavor, with an English admixture; second, the period of overland exploration, developing into the fur trading period, with the application of French, Indian and additional names of English and American origin; third, the pioneer period, resulting in the application of a large number of eastern place names to Oregon communities; fourth, the Indian wars and the mining periods; fifth, the modern period. Much curious lore is embodied in these place names and the value of tracing names as monumental records of early settlements or events has long been recognized by historians. Aspen Lake was named from the presence of the quaking aspen. "The superstitious voyageurs," according to H. M. Chittenden, "thought this was the wood of which the Cross was made and ever since the crucifixion its eaves have exhibited that constant tremulous appearance which has given rise to the name. The wood of the quaking asp was preferred by the trappers as a fuel for cooking, because it had little odor and did not taint the meat." Blue-bucket Creek is the name of a stream where members of the Meek party of 1845 picked up "yellow pebbles and hung them under a wagon by means of a blue bucket." The bucket was lost and several years later the emigrants realized that they had probably found gold! Cape Blanco takes us back to 1602 when Vizcaino and Aguillar sailed up the northwest coast, sighting capes which are now difficult to identify with certainty. The Cascade Range, of which Mount Hood rises to 11,225 feet, seems to have been named by David Douglas, a botanist, who referred to the mountains in his journal kept 1823 to 1827.

Similar works on geographic names have been published for the States of Minnesota, Missouri, Pennsylvania and Washington by other state historical societies.

Father De Smet and the Pottawattamies.—Mr. Frank Anthony Mullin, connected with Columbia College, a Catholic school at Dubuque, Ia., has written in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April, 1925, an account of the mission established in 1838 at Council Bluffs by Father De Smet among the Pottawattamie Indians. This was the first mission of many to be founded by him among the Indians of the West. "There were at this time about two thousand Pottawattamie Indians in the vicinity, including some thirty families of French half-breeds. They lived in groups from five to twenty-five miles apart. These villages were made up of several huts and tents constructed of upright poles covered with the bark of trees, buffalo hides, canvas, straw and grass, and pitched helter-skelter with no regard for order or symmetry . . . The women did most of the manual labor; they washed, mended, cooked, built the cabin, cut the wood, tilled and sowed the field. They appeared old at thirty. The men preferred to pass their time in smoking or playing cards. Their only labor was hunting, and, when necessary, war." The work of the missionaries is thus described: "Their daily routine was severely monotonous. It began each morning with the offering of the sacrifice of the Mass in their little chapel. At times they were denied even this source of consolation . . . The most of the day was spent in the work for which they had established the mission. First of all came instruction. This was carried on both at the mission itself and in the Indian camps which were scattered about, anywhere from five to twenty-five miles apart . . . During the first two and one-half months they baptized 105 persons . . . By the fall of 1839 the missionaries were able to report a congregation of about three hundred converts." John Bidwell, a western pioneer who knew Father De Smet well, said of him: "He was a man of great kindness and great affability under all circumstances; he was of a genial and buoyant temper, fond of jest and merriment, and humorously disposed." He was singularly successful as a peacemaker between warring Indian tribes. In 1840 famine threatened the mission and on February 13 Father De Smet started for St. Louis to obtain relief. He fell ill and on his recovery was transferred to a new mission among the Flatheads. The mission at Council Bluffs was abandoned in 1840. In 1847 and 1848 the Pottawatamies removed to Kansas.

Chamuscado-Rodriguez Expedition.—“Following the ill-fated Coronado Expedition the next white men, concerning whom we have authentic account, to visit the pueblos of the upper Rio Grande were members of the Chamuscado-Rodriguez exploring party.” So writes J. Lloyd Mecham in the January issue of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* in introducing the publication of supplementary documents relating to that expedition. “Captain Francisco Sanchez, commonly known as Chamuscado because of his flaming red beard, accompanied by three Franciscan missionaries, Agustín Rodriguez, Juan de Santa María and Francisco López, and eight soldiers, entered New Mexico in 1851. Shortly after their arrival in New Mexico Father Santa María left his companions in an attempt to return to Mexico but he was killed by the Indians of the Sandía Mountains. After the desertion of the friar the soldiers and the two Franciscans explored extensively far to the west and east of the Rio Grande. When the time came for the return to Mexico Fathers Rodríguez and López refused to accompany the soldiers but remained to work among the Indians. In a short time both of them won crowns of martyrdom.” In previous articles, one of them contributed to the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Mr. Mecham has tried to show that the responsibility for the deaths of the three padres has been unjustly placed by the Spanish historians upon Chamuscado and his soldier-companions. Two affidavits signed by the soldiers, found in the General Archives of the Indies at Seville, are reproduced in the original Spanish with English translations, showing that the missionaries acted contrary to the advice and protests of the soldiers. Santa María was killed by the Indians in southeastern New Mexico.

Motto of the Calverts.—In the latest issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December Francis B. Culver discusses the meaning of the motto which Sir George Calvert, the first Baron of Baltimore, chose for his family coat of arms: *Fatti maschii parole femine*. “It has been variously interpreted. A polite rendition makes it mean ‘manly deeds, womanly words,’ ” writes Dr. M. P. Andrews, author of the “Tercenary History of Maryland.” Mr. Culver believes, however, that “although it may produce a shock to our modern refined sensibilities . . . the motto was a vulgar or popular adage implying a somewhat contemptuous turn . . . in other words, deeds are for men (masculine), words are for women (feminine).” The first Lord Baltimore was “by reason of his education, his early travels in Europe and his subsequent public employment as a government official . . . thoroughly versed in the language and possibly the literature of Italy

and was, in consequence, conversant with the peculiar sayings of the natives of that land.”

California Emigrant Trails.—The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* is publishing two articles of importance for the study of the early routes to California. In the April, 1925, issue Mabelle Eppard Martin writes a well documented article on “California Emigrant Roads Through Texas.” “Gold was discovered in California, January, 1848 . . . What is the best route to California? became the question of the day . . . There was one well known route—the Oregon Trail from Independence, Missouri, with its branch to California from Fort Hall. Most people knew of the old Santa Fé Trail to Santa Fé, New Mexico, but beyond that point little was known of a wagon road that Colonel Philip St. George Cooke had made from the Rio Grande valley to California, 1846-47.” The report of Cooke upon that route had a significance later when the question of the Gadsden Purchase arose. The New York newspaper *Courier and Enquirer*, January 13, 1849, stated: “This [i. e. Cooke’s route] is a most important discovery and must prove of great service especially if that portion of Mexico should hereafter be annexed to the United States, as a railroad would in all probability be built over the route.” The struggle over the Pacific Railroad was based upon this very very question of a north or south location. “Historians have hitherto neglected the California migrations through and from the southwest,” writes Mrs. Martin, “and have discussed overland migration as if all California migrations had to go to Independence, Missouri, to find a road to California!” Four southern roads were opened in 1849. “Over these four roads and the old Santa Fé Trail streams of emigrants poured into the Rio Grande valley, from which region the majority followed the wagon road of Cooke, which soon became known as the Southern Emigrant Road.”

The diary of C. C. Cox, “From Texas to California in 1849,” is printed in the July issue. “Cox’s record of this journey from Harrisburg, Texas, to Stockton, California, is full of human interest, portraying the spirit of the ‘forty-niners’.”

Critics of Tradition Tripped.—James Henry Breasted, professor of Egyptology at the University of Chicago, in an address before the National Academy of Sciences and reprinted in the latest report of the Smithsonian Institute, shows how archeological research has confirmed certain traditions and beliefs that the destructive or hyper-sceptical school of historians had scornfully rejected. He held in his

hand, he said, a transit instrument made by the now well-known King Tutenkhamon in the fourteenth (*sic*) century before Christ. This instrument was used to determine meridian time by which to set the water clock with its 24-hour divisions—"a division of the day which thence passed over into Europe in Hellenistic times, whence it has been transmitted to us. Critical negation was supreme when 50 years ago archeology began to reveal with startling vividness the facts and the daily equipment of human life in the very ages with which the rejected traditions dealt." Yet the tradition, recorded by the Greek historian Herodotus, that the Greeks were greatly indebted to Egyptian knowledge "has in recent times been universally rejected." The Trojan War was said by the critics to be mythical until Dr. Schliemann began digging over the site of Homeric Troy. "His excavations recovered and exhibited to the incredulous eyes of the destructive critics the whole material equipment of daily life from the very age of the Trojan War (or wars) and from the very city in and around which that war was waged." But a more striking confirmation of Homer is given in a Hittite tablet that reports a war of Atreus, king of Achaia, against the king of Caria about 1250 B. C. Maspero declared Menes, the first king of the first dynasty of Egypt, was a purely mythical figure: the University of Chicago has a gold bar bearing his name in hieroglyphic. "Since 1894 thousands of prehistoric graves have been excavated along the margin of the Nile Valley, revealing to us the successive stages of human advance for many centuries before the once legendary Menes." "Not credulity," concludes Prof. Breasted, "but historical method demands that we now recognize . . . traditions or the nucleus of fact to be drawn from them, as a body of sources now to be restored to their proper chronological position in the succession of surviving evidences which reveal to us the past career of man on earth."

The Newberry Library
Chicago, Illinois.

WM. STETSON MERRILL.

HISTORY IN THE PRESS

LINCOLN'S CABIN WAS INDIANA'S FIRST ORPHANAGE

(By Associated Press)

Springfield, Ill., May 7.—Thomas Lincoln's log cabin in Spencer County, Indiana, might well have been designated the first orphan's home in that state, since under its roof were sheltered the remnants of three families, Louis A. Warren of Zionsville, Ind., collector of Lincolniana, told the combined conference of the Mississippi Valley and Illinois State Historical Societies here today.

"Here under one roof were gathered the remnants of the Sparrow, the Johnston and the Lincoln families," Mr. Warren said. His paper was entitled "Sarah Bush Lincoln—the Stepmother of Abraham Lincoln."

"When Nancy Hanks Lincoln succumbed to the 'milk-sickness' in October, 1818, there survived her the widower, Thomas, 42; a daughter, Sarah, 11, and a son, Abraham, 9. Two other victims of the same epidemic were Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow, uncle and aunt of Mrs. Lincoln, who left behind a stepson by the name of Dennis Hanks. This 19-year-old lad thereupon became a member of the Lincoln household.

"Thomas Lincoln's second wife brought to the new home three children by her first marriage: a son, John Johnston, 5, and two daughters, Matilda, 9, and Elizabeth, 13.

"During the first eight years of Abraham Lincoln's life he had been under the influence of his mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln. Following her death his sister, but two years older than himself, tried to mother him. And finally, for the next twelve years, until he became of age, Sarah Bush Lincoln bestowed her affections upon him and advised him as if he were her own child.

"While the attitude of his stepmother towards his mental preparation was undoubtedly her greatest contribution, she was also considerate of his physical needs. When Sarah arrived at the desolate Indiana cabin of Thomas Lincoln, her attention was first directed to the immediate needs of the orphan children. Since the swimming season had been closed for at least two months, it was not likely that a boy ten years of age without any motherly persuasion would have made any special effort toward cleanliness."

LINCOLN SHOWN YOUNG AND HOPEFUL IN TAFT STATUE

Oregon, Ill., April 28.—A cheerful Lincoln, young and hopeful, is the Lorado Taft statue of the Emancipator now in the making in the Sculptor's shack-studio here on Eagles Nest bluff, overlooking Rock river.

"I had rather tired of the sad bowed-headed 'Lincolns'," he said. "I am making a cheerful Lincoln. I have backed the gaunt figure against a desk-like object and shown him resting his hands upon it. It gives a monumental mass and heholds up his head as if he were really grateful to straighten out his neck.

As Lincoln never wore a beard until after he went to Washington as president, I have shown him withoutit, following pretty faithfully Leonard Volk's admirable bust, made from life in 1860."

MORMONISM ONCE THRIVED IN ILLINOIS

(By Associated Press)

Springfield, Ill., May 6.—How Joseph Smith, leader of the Mormons, became imbued with the idea of power to the extent of announcing himself candidate for the presidency of the United States, was related here today by Willis G. Swartz, of Sterling College, Sterling, Kansas.

The history of Mormonism in Illinois and Utah was the topic of his address before the Illinois State Historical Society meeting here for three days.

"The years 1840 to 1844," he said, "proved immensely prosperous for the Mormons both at home and abroad. At the opening of the fourth year Smith found himself at the height of his power. His followers in Europe and America numbered more than 100,000, while he, himself, had collected a private fortune of about half a million dollars.

"His power and good fortune seem to have warped his judgment, for in February, 1844, he announced himself as candidate for the presidency of the United States, with his disciple, Sidney Rigdon, as vice presidential candidate. This boldness, together with even bolder utterances concerning the manner in which a president should conduct himself, led to persecution at the hands of the surrounding gentiles."

Tracing the exodus of the Mormons from Ohio and Missouri to Quincy, Mr. Swartz told of how they applied to the legislature of Illinois in 1840 for extensive privileges, including several charters.

They asked charters for the city of Nauvoo, one for agricultural and manufacturing purposes, one for a university and one for a military body called the Nauvoo legion.

“Since both the Whigs and Democrats in Illinois were competing for Mormon political support, all of these privileges were readily granted,” he said. “By the end of 1840 there were at least 15,000 people in Nauvoo, many of whom had come from Canada and Europe.

“One of the first events in the New Zion was the choosing of a temple site—a prominent hilltop on which was to be erected an imposing edifice of glistening white sandstone costing approximately one million dollars.

“In June, 1844, occurred the death of the Mormon prophet. During that month a couple of apostate Mormons issued the first number of the Nauvoo *Expositor*, an anti-Mormon publication. At a meeting of the city council the journal was pronounced a menace and further publication was prohibited.

“Acting under the orders of Joseph Smith as mayor, the police entered the establishment and destroyed the presses.

“Smith and a number of his followers were ordered then arrested by the publishers, Mr. Swartz related, and the near riot ensued. All were released but Smith and another followed was arrested for treason, following an accusation that he had ordered his troops to resist the posse sent by the governor of Illinois. His execution followed, and Brigham Young was named leader of the church.

“A brief period of peace followed the election of a new church leader,” Mr. Swartz continued, “but during the year 1845 persecution was renewed. The Whigs and Democrats in Illinois no longer sought the Mormon vote; the Masonic order refused to admit additional Mormons to its ranks, the legislature of Illinois refused to grant another charter and the people were determined that the saints should leave the state.

“Realizing the futility of remaining in a hostile state, the Mormons, themselves, determined to escape persecution by moving far beyond the American frontier—into the valley of the Great Salt Lake, then a part of the Mexican province of New Mexico.

PONTIAC HAS SURVIVOR OF JOHN BROWN DAYS

(By Associated Press)

Portland, Ore., April 24.—At least one survivor of the John Brown bands of pre-Civil War times is still living despite the death of Luke F. Parsons in Salina, Kansas, yesterday, Albert F. White of Portland said today.

“My father, John Warren White, is living at 845 Water Street, Pontiac, Ill.,” said White. “He was with John Brown at Lawrence and Osawatomie and other places where there was trouble.

“He went to Kansas to fight for a free state and afterward he returned to Illinois. He was one of the group captured by border raiders and imprisoned.”

PRIEST PREPARES NAVAJO INDIAN GRAMMAR MANUAL

(By Associated Press)

Santa Fe, N. M., May 6.—A manual of the Navajo Indian grammar has been prepared by Father Bernard Haile, O. F. M., of the Cincinnati Province of St. John the Baptist, and has just been published. The work contains 320 pages, and is the first comprehensive study of the Navajo Indians, nomads of the desert of northern Arizona and New Mexico. They closely resemble in many ways the Mongolians of Asia, but whose language, the manual shows, is far more difficult than even the Chinese.

The value of the work also is of interest to students of ethnology and languages. Its sponsors believe that it may some day furnish the key to the suspected racial bond between the peoples of Asia and the aborigines of America.

To the layman the Navajo language presents little but an avalanche of consonants, digraphs, glottal and aspirated stops, nasalized vowels, and other difficulties.

COMPILED BY TERESA L. MAHER.

Joliet, Ill.

ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME IX

OCTOBER, 1926

NUMBER 2

Illinois Catholic Historical Society

617 ASHLAND BLOCK, CHICAGO

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Illinois Catholic Historical Review

Journal of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society

617 ASHLAND BLOCK, CHICAGO

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PUBLISHED BY

THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHICAGO, ILL.

CONTENTS

MARQUETTE, THE FATHER OF CHICAGO <i>Rev. William H. Agnew, S. J., Hon. James H. Wilkerson, Cyrus H. McCormick, Jr., Sol Westerfield</i>	99
THE LIFE OF JAMES MARQUETTE <i>Rev. Henry S. Spalding, S. J.</i>	109
THE FRANCISCAN MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA <i>J. J. Ryan</i>	134
INTERESTING FACTS CONCERNING CHICAGO'S FIRST FOUR BISHOPS <i>Rev. John Rothensteiner</i>	151
IN THE CLUTCHES OF THE BARBARY CORSAIRS <i>Rev. Paul J. Foik, C. S. C.</i>	162
EDITORIAL COMMENT The Kaskaskia Commons Timothy D. Hurley <i>Joseph J. Thompson</i>	177 177
CHICAGO AND HOW IT GREW <i>George P. Stone</i>	180
HISTORY IN THE PRESS <i>Compiled by Teresa L. Maher</i>	183

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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MARQUETTE, THE FATHER OF CHICAGO

The greatest memorial to Marquette and Jolliet is now a fact in Chicago. The program and proceedings at the unveiling were as follows:

PROGRAM

Cyrus McCormick, Jr., chairman. Musical selections by the Progressive National Band. Music: March Choral, Chambers. Invocation: Father William H. Agnew, S. J., President of Loyola University. Address: Marquette, the Pioneer of New France, Judge James H. Wilkerson. Address: Chicago's Early Consecration, Father William H. Agnew, S. J., President of Loyola University. Music: Pomp and Circumstance (March), Elgar. Presentation of the Memorial, Cyrus McCormick, Jr., Vice-President of the Art Institute of Chicago. Acceptance of the Memorial, Sol Westerfeld, West Park Commissioner. Music: March and Procession from Bachhus, Delibes. Unveiling of the Memorial. Music: America.

INVOCATION

By William H. Agnew, S. J.

Almighty and everlasting God, author alike of the natural courage and the supernatural faith which sustained and inspired Father Marquette and his companions in their heroically arduous explorations and teachings over trackless plains, swamps and rivers, and among the untutored savages of the woods and plains, grant that we who are so bountifully sustained by the earth and waters which their pioneering footsteps and canoes first travelled, may also ever be guided and controlled by a spirit of supernatural faith and lofty charity which will make us worthy of the sublime heritage of their faith and charity bequeathed to our city in the significant hour of their first visitation. Amen.

MARQUETTE — A PIONEER OF NEW FRANCE

Judge James H. Wilkerson

It is fitting on this occasion that, at the outset, we pay tribute to the memory of Benjamin Franklin Ferguson, whose bequest created the fund which has made this memorial possible. It is appropriate that we express our appreciation of the work of the distinguished sculptor, Hermon A. MacNeil, who here teaches by this product of his genius that true art is the embodiment of great ideas.

The Ferguson fund was created to provide statuary and monuments commemorating worthy men or women of America or important events of American history. Jaques Marquette was a worthy man. The work of the French pioneers of which his deeds were a part make up an important, even if almost forgotten, epoch of American history.

Let us try to picture the America of two hundred and fifty years ago. The great cities knit together with bonds of steel, the smoking chimneys of mighty industries, the fertile fields, the vast fabric of the civilization of this Republic vanish. Along the Atlantic are scattered groups of English colonists. The oldest settlement has been established less than seventy years. Their combined population did not exceed two hundred thousand. Beyond these settlements there stretched to the west and north an unbroken wilderness inhabited by savage tribes of Indians.

Along the St. Lawrence and extending westward for a thousand miles were the forts, trading posts and missions of the French. The remotest western frontier of the French Missionary enterprise was the northern portion of Lake Michigan from Sault Ste. Marie to Green Bay.

The New England colonies were more than twenty times as populous as Canada, yet they did not extend further inland than the shores of the Connecticut River. The primary object of the English was to found homes and establish self-governing communities based upon those principles of liberty which for centuries had been the inheritance of Englishmen. The primary objects of the French were conquest, territorial expansion, the conversion of heathen savages and the development of commerce in furs and precious metals.

France was the France of Louis XIV, the France of feudalism, of absolutism, of arbitrary power. And from this France there came to Canada a group of virile men who were fired with the determination to create on this continent a new empire. They would explore it. They would conquer it. They would send their missionaries to teach their faith to its inhabitants. And they would make this vast empire

tributary to the sovereign whose conception of government was, "I am the State." The story of the rise and fall of New France is the most dramatic chapter in American history.

Among this group stand out as leaders the great Count Frontenac and La Salle, the most remarkable, in many respects, of all the pioneers of France. Of La Salle it has been said: "When he started out to do a thing he never relinquished his purpose, although men and fortune forsook him. If he had been one of a Balakava six hundred and the only survivor among them, he would have attacked the enemy single handed, with unabated courage."

La Salle came to Canada in 1666 and took up the great work of exploration in which he hewed out the path on which France was to win a vast though transient dominion. In his travels he heard reports of a remote "great water," of which no one had ever seen the end. True, the Spaniards had discovered the Mississippi more than a century before. De Soto was buried beneath its waters; and it was down its muddy current that his followers fled from the El Dorado of their dreams, transformed into a wilderness of misery and death. The discovery was never used and almost forgotten. Even Spanish maps failed to show it. A century passed before a French explorer reached a northern tributary of the great river.

For the task of undertaking the discovery of the remote "great water" Frontenac and La Salle chose Louis Jolliet, who already had led an exploring party to the shores of Lake Superior. Jolliet was 28 years old, a native of Quebec. He was a well-educated man with considerable proficiency in higher mathematics. At Mackinaw he was joined by Jacques Marquette, a Jesuite priest, 36 years of age. Marquette had come to Canada seven years before and had worked among the Indians at Sault Ste. Marie and St. Ignace. John Fiske, the historian, says of him: "He was distinguished for linguistic talents and for the deeply spiritual quality of his mind. He seems to have had a poetic temperament profoundly sensitive to the beauties of nature and of art, while his religion exercised upon him a transfiguring influence, so that all who met him became aware of his heavenly presence. This gentle and exquisite creature was as brave as a paladin and capable of enduring the fiercest extremes of hardship."

On May 17, 1673, Jolliet and Marquette started with five companions. Ascending the Fox River they crossed the portage to the Wisconsin and one month from the day of starting they reached the Mississippi. They descended so far southward as to convince themselves that the river must empty into the Gulf of Mexico. Ascending to the mouth of the Illinois, they went up to the head of the stream

and met some Indians who guided them to Lake Michigan. Coasting its shores they reached Green Bay after an absence of about four months, during which they had paddled their canoes more than two thousand five hundred miles. Joliet went on to Quebec. Marquette, in failing health, remained at Green Bay and the next year returned to found a new mission at the principal town of the Illinois tribe of Indians. Coasting the western border of Lake Michigan his party entered the Chicago River and ascended it for about two leagues. Here they built a hut and spent the winter. Floating down the swollen current of the Des Plaines in the spring he reached the Indian town at the junction of the Des Plaines and Illinois. Here, we are told, he was received like "an angel from Heaven." Here he preached to a vast council. It took place near the town, on the great meadow which lies between the river and what is now the city of Utica. Here five hundred chiefs and old men were seated in a ring; behind stood fifteen hundred youths and warriors, and behind these all the women and children of the village.

But his strength could stand no more. The touch of death was upon him. He started to return to his mission, and on the way to Mackinaw in the spring of 1675 the spirit of this noble explorer and missionary passed away from the earth.

The explorations of Marquette and Joliet are but an episode in the stirring drama of New France. But from them grew the conception of New France as a great empire in the wilderness. For seventy years France pursued this dream of empire. For seventy years there was waged the irrepressible conflict between France and England for the possession of North America. It was the strife between liberty and absolutism, between individualism and paternalism—in short, between New England and New France.

In 1759 on the heights of Abraham near Quebec Montcalm and Wolfe fought to a finish the contest which gave the North American contingent into the keeping of the English race instead of the French. And a quarter of a century later England lost most of this vast empire because she was unwilling to grant to Englishmen in America the principles which she had laid down for the government of Englishmen in England.

And so this monument will stand—a reminder of this stirring and dramatic epoch of history, a tribute to the bravery, the fortitude and the faith of the pioneers who opened the wilderness to civilization.

But it is more than that. It is an embodiment of the spirit of adventure and discovery in every field of human activity. To those intrepid souls who have pressed forward in the quest after truth we

owe the progress of the human race. They have endured hardship and privation. They have been taunted and reviled. They have been tortured on the rack and burned at the stake. But they have lifted mankind from the blackness of ignorance to the bright day of intellectual freedom.

In this materialistic and commercial age let this monument remind us that wealth and power and position are insubstantial things; that the true benefactors of the race are those who contribute to the enlargement of knowledge and to the discovery of truth.

CHICAGO'S EARLY CONSECRATION

Father William H. Agnew, S. J.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have chosen to cluster my brief remarks upon this most happy occasion around the subject of "Chicago's Early Consecration" for a very definite reason. The noble object of the Ferguson Fund in the various works of art which it has set down on the salient spots of Chicago's beautiful highways is to commemorate and to inspire; to commemorate the noble achievements of the past which merit to be remembered and to inspire present and future generations through these artistic memorials to emulate their forebears in like accomplishments. And beyond all doubt the statuary group about to be unveiled along this highway commemorates men and achievements worthy of honor and imitation. Very properly can we say that through them Chicago had an early consecration. Chicago was consecrated alike by the personal character of Father Marquette, who was the first white man to set hallowed footsteps upon the site of Chicago, and by the nature of the things he came to do, and did, whilst on the ground that now bears our noble city.

The character and ambitions of this noble French Jesuit typify a kind of virtue which our generation as every generation is greatly in need of, the virtue of lofty supernatural faith and great unselfish charity. The nature and completeness of his unselfishness can, perhaps, best be indicated by the simple reflection that whereas most people who came here from the Old World, both in the earlier and later days, were led by an ambition to enrich themselves with wealth and power, he came with a nobler ambition to give all that he had and to take nothing of what is worldly in exchange. He came spurred on by an ambition identical in kind and similar in degree of intensity with that which had inspired Francis Xavier and sent him forth from Spain with all its flattering prospects of worldly success and political

power to spend his life in hard labor and in the midst of dangers for the benefit of the lowly people of India. This marvelous man whom all the world admires was the heroic model chosen by Jacques Marquette in his own youth of fine promise in France. By consecration of religious vows, whereby he renounced all worldly possessions, he became a brother Jesuit to Xavier. His apostolate carried him to the Western World from whence narratives of heathen folk to be converted to faith in God, but who must be reached by long travels midst uncommon dangers and privations, had come back to France from other Jesuit missionaries and explorers who had gone to the New World. Jacques Marquette came here disposed and anxious to push further westward the frontier of Christianity and to enrich the store of human knowledge with new findings of geography and natural history. Opportunity was quickly given him to carry out his ardent ambitions, and it was the fulfillment of this purpose, to plant in the minds of savage people the Christian faith, hope and charity which make human life worth while in its living and in its supernatural prospect, that brought Marquette on to the site of the present-day Chicago. That his unselfishness impressed the savage people unto wonderment stands out from the candid pages of the records of these journeys wherein are set down the facts that friendly tribes often attempted to deter him and his companions from going further on, by statements of the perils that awaited them and menaced their lives. And the same records show that the wonderment of the savages at their physical courage was heightened to astonishment to know that this noble Frenchman was even joyed at the thought that a death of martyrdom might come to him whilst upon his enterprize of spreading the kingdom of God. Not once in all his journeyings nor in his parleyings with savage folk did his conduct belie his purpose of giving always that which he had in great richness, namely, faith and courage and supernatural knowledge and great culture of intellect and heart, and of neither asking nor expecting any worldly reward for his services.

Surely the people of this generation need the inspiration of such an example of selflessness. And may all who pass by this way and gaze upon the bronze figure of this noble man be ennobled by the thought of his generous life for the welfare of his fellowman.

Another noble trait which characterized Marquette all his life through can well be made the subject of reflection and imitation by the world today. It is his lofty chivalry for womankind. Admiration for and love of the Immaculate Mother of God, his Savior, was a dominant feature of his religious life. He dedicated all his actions



MONUMENT TO COMMEMORATE JAMES MARQUETTE, S. J., LOUIS JOLLIET AND THE ALGONQUIN INHABITANTS OF ILLINOIS, erected by Art Institute of Chicago as trustee of the Ferguson Fund two hundred and fifty years after the voyage of discovery of Marquette and Jolliet.

to her honor and sought to make their honesty and integrity worthy of her spotless purity.

The actions of Marquette when his frail craft first touched the shores of our rived and he disembarked on our land were also of a kind to consecrate our city. For his first act was to offer sacrifice, the Sacrifice of the Holy Mass, to honor God the Creator of the world and to thank Him for His blessings. Surely the example of a man like Marquette who placed service of God through observance of His commandments and the acknowledgment of His gifts as the first and last and always paramount duty of his life is one which the generation and every generation of human kind need to know and follow.

This occasion, therefore, is one for which the citizens of Chicago should be most grateful to Benjamin Franklin Ferguson, whose wise beneficence has made possible the erection of this inspiring statuary group. It is also an occasion that augurs well for the future of our civilization inasmuch as it sets up for the veneration of all the likeness of a man whose character and whose achievements typify the noblest things of human life.

DEDICATORY ADDRESS

Cyrus McCormick, Jr.

Those of us who are here today are, if we stop to consider, born with the proverbial silver spoons. Whether our well-being is measured in dollars or in dimes we cannot avoid the fact that we enjoy reasonably assured incomes, we have homes to shelter us, we are as sure as possible that tomorrow at this same hour we shall be doing about the same thing as today, we can count on those who love us and feel that our families will extend to us enough love and affection to give us assurance that not only our bodies but our hearts as well will receive care and sustenance today and tomorrow. In short we are fortunate beings. We are the children of men and women who slaved that we might be free politically and morally. We are the heirs of those who have suffered that we may enjoy.

The history of our nation, like that of other countries, is really a record of the soul-testing of one generation after another, each using as a foundation the work of its predecessor and each building thereon something which, if our work be properly done, is a little bit better, a little bit nearer the ideal, than is that of our fathers. Thus it is that things change from century to century, thus it is that the work of one man is he play of his son, the laugh of one grows out of the toil and sorrow of another.

In all this progression of greater things out of smaller, we of today should feel an inspiration in trying to improve on the work of those who have gone before, for we have ever before us the challenge of their accomplishment. We must respect their work if we dare to claim the privilege of using their results as a foundation for our own contribution to what we take pride in calling our ever improving civilization. The farmer of Illinois should remember that his rich acres, smiling in their harvest of wheat and corn, and their herds of cattle, were carved out of the primeval wilderness of forest or plain by some brave pioneer who dared to turn his face toward the then untravelled west; the worker of modern Chicago must remember the no less adventurous pioneer who, by strength of his arm and the vision of his brain, turned the prairie village into a town, the young town into a city, and the growing city into the gigantic metropolis of today. Back of both of these men, farmer and artisan, we, their heirs, must recognize and acclaim the hardy explorer who made possible the farm and the workshop—the discoverer.

How many counties in this fair state of ours or in her neighbors are without railways, how far can one go in this broad land without meeting man? What a change there has been within the memory of living man—but what is a man's life compared with a page of history? Do you, my friends, realize that our great city has not yet celebrated the hundredth anniversary of its complete birth, that two and a half centuries ago no white man had ever seen the sand dunes and swamps that were our Chicago? The jungles of Central Africa today are less distant from civilization, the terror of their unknown mysteries less severe than the inland reaches of our country in those days. Time is indeed a brutal master, making our yesterdays seem so near, our puny efforts seem so small.

But time, the cruel pace-setter, has bequeathed us a sovereign antidote, whereby we of today may pay to the records of the past the honor due. This tribute is our love of romance. It lives in every page of Cooper, it breathes in the sweet music of Eugene Field, it brings peace to a humdrum life, it paints in sunrise shades the drab mantle of ceaseless effort. It colors our little lives with reflected halos of the glories of the past, it enlivens this place with the consecrated sacrifice of those who died that we might be.

But perhaps someone may say that there was no romance in the life of Father Marquette and his brave associates, only courage and a daily struggle with the wilderness and early death following hard after the exhausting rigors of an over-active life. But that would be to lack appreciation of their true spirit, for to them romance was

the meat and drink of daily existence. No material reward came to them any more than gain comes to us who honor them today. They did their work with faith in a task well done, we praise their names full of the romance of their accomplishment, that in this way we may more easily remember—and profit by—their faith.

Therefore let us be grateful that they lived and toiled for us, let us be grateful for the material well-being that has followed. Let us be grateful, too, for the foresight of that prince of commerce whose vision and confidence in the romance of ancient days made this celebration possible. Let us praise the artistic skill that has given form to this tribute to bygone captains. Let us take pride in the collective wisdom of the great city that has offered in her parks and boulevards, a glimpse of summer sunshine and green leaves and a home for those expressions of our admiration. And above all, let us sincerely and reverently take unto ourselves a small share of the romance of the adventure that gazed far out into the unknown continent and see there our country.

This, Sir, completes my task. From now on you will be the guardian of this tribute. It typifies Chicago's recognition of the great work of Father Marquette, it exemplifies a desire to couch this expression in a beautiful form, it places upon you the welcome burden of custodianship for all the symbolism of this monument, but above all it is a vibrant expression of the romance of the past living on into today, and on and on until today itself shall have become the past. To your care, Sir, I entrust this monument and, in the name of the Trustees of the Art Institute of Chicago, dedicate it to the glorious memory of Father Marquette,—and to the Chicago of today and of the past and of the future.

ADDRESS OF ACCEPTANCE

Sol Westerfeld

Mr. Chairman:—I have been delegated by the Honorable Dr. John Dill Robertson, President of the Chicago West Park Commissioners, to represent him and to express his regrets that circumstances beyond his control prevent his presence.

It therefore becomes my pleasing duty on behalf of the Chicago West Park Commissioners to accept this beautiful monument, not only a work of art, but a fitting memorial to the work and achievements of that courageous, self-sacrificing young priest, Father Marquette.

May this monument not only give testimony to the high regard and appreciation we have for the memory of Marquette, but may it

serve as an inspiration to all who see it, especially our young people. May its artistic granite and bronze speak more eloquently than human tongue, that self-sacrifice and devotion as exemplified in the life of Marquette shall never be forgotten and are worthy our emulation.

On behalf of the Chicago West Park Commissioners I accept this beautiful monument and pledge to you, Mr. Chairman and the Art Institute of Chicago, administrators of the Ferguson Fund, that we shall ever safeguard it, that we shall beautify this spot and its surroundings, and, Mr. Chairman, may I not at this time offer to the Trustees of the Ferguson Fund additional locations in the West Park System suitable for the placing of monuments commemorating historical events, or the lives of men whose achievements entitle them to recognition, and whose memory thereby may be perpetuated.

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Chicago West Park Commissioners, I thank you for this beautiful addition to the artistic monuments in the West Park System.

W A N T E D

Copies of the following issues of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL
REVIEW :

Vol. II, No. 2, October, 1919

Vol. III, Nos. 3 and 4, January and April, 1921

Vol. IV, Nos. 2 and 4, October, 1921, and April, 1922

Vol. V, No. 1, July, 1922

Copies of the above will be purchased by the Society at the regular
subscription price.

THE LIFE OF JAMES MARQUETTE

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This is the second of a series of papers on Father Marquette, missionary and discoverer. The first series appeared in the July number of the *ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW* (1926), and dealt with the early life of Marquette and his first Mission work in Canada. A large part of the matter in the first series was obtained for the writer by Rev. Alfred Hamy, S. J., a well known French historian. The second series begins with Marquette's work among the Huron and Ottawa Indians at Mackinac, and ends with the successful discovery of the Mississippi River and the exploration of the Mississippi Valley. The original documents bearing upon this part of the life of Marquette are contained in the Jesuit Relations.

It is a great help for one who wishes to interpret the past to visit the scenes where history has been enacted. Fr. Spalding has gone over the principal places connected with the life of Marquette. In a letter to a friend he writes: "I have spent several days in exploring the country around Mackinac from which Marquette and Joliet set for on their memorable voyage of discovery. I have stood on the bank of the Mississippi in upper Minnesota where one could throw a stone across the narrow channel, and I have watched the great ocean vessels battle against its current below New Orleans where there was a depth of two hundred feet. I was much disappointed with my first view of the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers; but during the June rise I found the Missouri terrifying in its power. The great tide of the Ohio River, where it meets the Mississippi, is magnificent in its broad stretch. But of the views which greeted Marquette I found none more interesting than the portage (near the city of Wisconsin of that name), where the Fox River runs due north, and nearby the broad current of the Wisconsin River sweeps away to the south. I have prayed with emotion at the grave of the priest discoverer."

A third series on this subject will appear in the January number of the *ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

I. MISSION AT MACKINAC. PREPARATION FOR THE VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

Before Marquette left his Mission on the southwestern shore of Lake Superior for the villages of the Illinois, his Christian Indians were visited by twelve braves from the Dakotahs or Sioux. They came from that part of the west which they were later to make memorable by their depredations upon the white settlers; but their present visit was one of peace. While in a council with the Ottawas and Hurons one of their warriors was killed by a Huron brave. Thinking that they had been surrounded through treachery the Dakotahs began to defend themselves. A general melee followed. All the Dakotahs fell; not, however, until they had killed many of their enemies. The Ottawas and Hurons now began to fear for their own safety. Too well they knew the power of their enemy when once they had bran-

dished their knives of stone and sounded their tocsins of war. The Ottawas did not wait to meet their foes; their tents of bark were struck; their simple cooking utensils were collected and thrown pell-mell into their canoes; dogs, children, women, and warriors were huddled together in the frail canoes, and the prows were turned eastward. The Hurons, too, were seized with a sudden panic as the news came of the approach of the war party of the fierce Dakotah. But whither could they go? They were unwelcome strangers in the land of the Illinois; the enraged Sioux were pressing on from the west; their ancient abodes south of the lake which still bore their name were too close to their old enemies, the Iroquois,—they committed themselves to the waves, and followed in the wake of their old friends, the Ottawas. Marquette bade farewell to the Illinois and embarked with his wandering children.

“The fugitives,” says Shea, “remembering the rich fisheries of Mackinac, resolved to return to that pebbly strand. It was indeed a bleak spot to begin a new home. It was a point of land almost encompassed by wind-tossed lakes, icy as Siberian waters. The cold was intense, the cultivation difficult; but the water teemed with fish, and the very danger and hardship of their capture gave it new zest. Besides, this was a central point for trade, and so additionally recommended itself to the Huron, who still as of old sought to advance his worldly prospects by commerce.

“Stationed at this new spot, Marquette’s first care was to erect a chapel. Rude and unshapely was the first sylvan shrine raised by Catholicity at Mackinac; its sides of logs, its roof of bark had nothing to impress the senses, nothing to win the wayward child of the forest by its dazzling splendor;—all was as simple as the Faith he taught. Such was the origin of the Mission of Saint Ignatius, or Michilimackinaw, already in a manner begun the previous year by the missionaries on the island of that name. The Hurons soon built near the chapel a palisade fort, less stout and skilful indeed than the fortresses found among their kindred Iroquois by Cartier and Champlain, but in their declining state sufficient for their defence.”

With his Huron and Ottawa Christians at Mackinac Marquette spent two and a half years, that is, from the fall of 1670 to the spring of 1673, when he started on his memorable voyage. While he complained of the fickleness of the Hurons, who occasionally fell back into their superstitious practices in which they had been reared, those were the most satisfactory years of his apostolate among the red men. On one occasion when he was absent three weeks from the Mission, the Indians went regularly to the chapel for prayer, and the young girls

sang the hymns which he had taught them. On his return the entire tribe welcomed him and proceeded to the chapel, many coming in from the fields which were some distance from the village.

When the crops were gathered the Indians celebrated what was called the Feast of Squashes, the object of which was to return thanks for the abundant supply of squashes for the winter. The priest attended the feast as it in no way partook of the pagan rites; he seized the occasion to remind the Indians of the bounty of God in their behalf while many of the other tribes suffered from want.

"Some Christians," he writes, "who came up from Quebec and Montreal declared at the outset that they would not attend meetings where God was offended; that if they were invited to feast they would follow the Christians in their customs. They placed themselves on my side when I was able to be present, and maintained their freedom when I was absent.

"A savage of note among the Hurons invited me to his feast at which the chiefs were present. After calling each of them by name he told them that he wished to state his intention to them so that all might know it,—namely that he was a Christian; that he renounced the God of dreams, and all their lewd dances; that the Black Gown was master of his cabin; and that he would not abandon that resolution whatever might happen. I felt pleasure in hearing him, and at the same time I spoke more strongly than I had hitherto done,—telling them that I had no other design than to place them on the road to Paradise; that for this alone I remained among them, that this obliged me to remain among them at the peril of my life.

"In an assembly last year in the woods five other tribes were assembled at that council and I was given a present of a large porcelain collar in answer to what I had said—that I intended to strengthen Christianity among the Hurons, which seemed as yet only beginning. That man and all his kindred made a declaration and said that I alone should govern their cabin. As regards those with whom I am not satisfied, if I manifest by a single word that I am not pleased with them, they come of their own accord and bring the inmates of their cabin to prayer. I hope that what they do through respect and fear will one day be done through love and with the desire of being saved.

"Over one hundred souls left last autumn for the chase; those who remained here asked me what dances I prohibited. I replied in the first place that I would not permit those which God forbids, such as indecent ones; that, as regards the others I would decide about them when I had seen them. Every dance has its own name; but I did not find any harm in any of them except that called the "Bear-

Dance." A woman who became impatient in her illness, in order to satisfy both her God and her imagination, caused twenty women to be invited. They were covered with bearskins and wore fine porcelain collars; they growled like bears and pretended to hide like bears. Meanwhile the sick woman danced and from time to time told them to throw oil on the fire with certain superstitious rites. The men who acted as singers had great difficulty in carrying out the sick woman's designs as they were not familiar with the airs, for that dance was not known to the Tobacco Indians. I availed myself of this fact to dissuade them from the dance. I did not forbid others which were of no importance . . .

"Severe as the winter is, it does not prevent the Indians from coming to the chapel. Some come twice a day, be the wind or cold what it may. Last fall I began to make general Confessions of their whole life, and to prepare others who had never confessed since their baptism. I would not have supposed that Indians could give so exact an account of all that had happened in the course of their lives; but it was seriously done and some took two weeks to examine themselves. Since then I have perceived a marked change, so that they will not go to even ordinary feasts without asking my permission.

"As the savages have vivid imaginations, they are often cured of their sickness when they are granted what they desire. Their medicine-men who know nothing about their diseases, propose a number of things to them for which they might have a desire. Sometimes the sick person mentions it, and they fail not to give it to him. But many during the winter fearing that might be a sin, always replied with constancy that they desired nothing, and that they would do whatever the Black Gown wanted them. I did not fail during the autumn to visit them in their fields where I intrusted them and made them pray to God, and told them what they had to do. I also made frequent and regular visits to them,—especially those who owing to their advanced age could not come to the chapel. A blind woman who had formerly been instructed by Father Brebocuf, had not during all these years forgotten her prayers; she daily prayed to God that she might not die without grace,—and I admired her sentiments. Another aged woman to whom I spoke of hell shuddered at it and said that they had no sense in their former country, but that they had not committed so many sins since they had been instructed.

"Since there was no bell for the chapel I went to notify them on the vigils of the feasts. When time permitted I delivered a short discourse to them in which I always included what they had to believe and the principal things from which they had to abstain. I also seized

the opportunity to speak to some of them in private, to inculcate what I considered most necessary to them.

“This year I baptized twenty-eight children. One of them was brought here from St. Marie du Sault without having received the sacrament. I was informed of this by Father Henry Nouvel in order that I might attend to it. Without my knowing it, the child fell sick; but God permitted that while instructing in my cabin two important and sensible Indians, one asked me whether such a sick child was baptized. I went at once, baptized it, and it died the next night. Some of the other children are also dead and in heaven. These are the consolations which God sends us, and which serve to make our wretched lives full of happiness.”¹

While Father Marquette was laboring among the Hurons at the Mission of Saint Ignatius at Mackinac, other Jesuits were toiling with equal zeal and fortitude at their different posts along the Great Lakes; like him they were gladdened at times by the fervor of the neophytes, then saddened by their inconstancy. There were other Missions farther east where Huron and Iroquois dwelt in the same cabin and prayed before the same altar. After half a century of exterminating war they had smoked the pipe of peace; and many of the fiercest and most cruel of the Five Nations had become Christians. Their good example was often the means of drawing others to ask for the same blessing; in fact the exemplary lives of the Hurons in the settlements near Quebec seem to have impressed the fierce Iroquois even more than did the instructions of the missionaries.

How consoling to the missionaries must have been this change in the former hostile Iroquois. The wolf had become a lamb; those who had been the greatest obstacle to the spread of Christianity were apostles to their own nation and were bringing the new converts and the neophytes to the Christian settlements near Quebec, where they would have before them the good example of the docile and peaceful Hurons.

It was in the summer of 1672 that Marquette wrote from his Mission at Mackinac, where he had spent two years, and described the

¹Material dealing with this part of the life of Marquette will be found in the Jesuit Relations: Vol. 1, pp. 34, 317; Vol. 50, p. 372; Vol. 58, pp. 65, 71; Vol. 59, pp. 14, 87-163, 293-299, 310; Vol. 65, p. 266. Also “The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,” edited by Edna Kenton in one volume. Published by A. and B. Boni, New York, 1925. This book contains selections from the incomplete on many topics; but the account of the two voyages and the death of Marquette are given in their entirety. For the first voyage see pp. 333-367. For the second voyage see pp. 376-388; also 367-376. For the death of Marquette see pp. 376-388.

Indians as "more tractable and better disposed to receive the graces given them than in any other place." He concludes this letter to his superior Father Dablin with the following statement: "I am preparing to leave it (Mackinac) in the hands of another missionary to go by your reverence's order towards the South Sea to new nations that are unknown to us, to teach them to know our great God of whom they have hitherto been ignorant." In this letter, then Marquette refers to his intended voyage of discovery,—the discovery of the Mississippi. This was the second time that he had prepared for the undertaking. In the meanwhile other missionaries along the lakes had heard reports of the river, so that Marquette had more details to guide him than he would have had, had he started from La Pointe two years before. It was not his intention to depart until the following spring. With the approach of winter Joliet came to the Mission at Mackinac with the official commission from the Governor of Canada, Count Frontenac, to undertake the same discovery for which Marquette was now making his second preparation. At once they joined hands and minds for the work; when the ice of winter had melted they went forth on their memorable voyage.

While the long winter months went by at the Mission of Saint Ignace, Mackinac, Marquette and Joliet completed their preparations for the voyage.² It must have been a surprise and pleasure to the latter to find the amount of information which the missionaries had

² Throughout this narrative I have given Marquette the place of honor in preference to Joliet; my reasons for doing so I have explained in a former article in the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW (Oct. 1923, pp. 40-50). In the same number of the REVIEW (p. 50, etc.) Rev. Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., in a carefully written and exhaustive paper argues that Vaca should have the first claim. Vaca and his half starved companions in leaky boats drifted along the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and were thrown ashore somewhere in Texas. "He (Vaca) came to the mouth of a broad river which poured so large a stream of water into the gulf that he took fresh water from the sea. Probably it was the Mississippi River" (from "The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States," by Woodberry Lowery, pp. 100, 190). It will be noticed that Lowery refers to the finding of the Mississippi as only probable. He quotes other authorities who "think" it was the mouth of the Mississippi. On such frail evidence as is presented by Lowery and others, I am unwilling to grant to Vaca any claim whatever as a discoverer. One hundred and fifty years after Vaca's time La Salle with a knowledge of the Mississippi and with a well equipped expedition to enter the river could not find the mouth of the stream. There are five complete copies or translations of Vaca's story in the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill. I cannot see how any one who reads the original carefully can accord to Vaca the honors of the discoverer of the Mississippi River.

accumulated in regard to the river which he was to seek. A rude map was traced of the countries through which they were to pass, the villages which they were to visit, and the rivers on which they were to sail. It was no doubt this map or a copy of it that Marquette completed after the voyage, and which has fortunately been preserved. They knew that the expedition would be hazardous; but every precaution was used to prevent its being foolhardy. Had La Salle acted with the same foresight and sought for like information his ambitious schemes would not have met with failure. Parkman has spoken of Marquette as the ideal missionary with but little knowledge that was practical. La Salle is pictured by him as the keen, practical business man, treading the earth with sure foot, and representative of the spirit that built up empires. No comparison could be more unfair. Marquette was preeminently practical; and had his aim been colonization, had he undertaken to establish settlements in Illinois or at the mouth of the Mississippi, we believe the other chapters would be written of Fort St. Louis.

It is to be regretted that we do not know the names of the five other Frenchmen who were members of the expedition. Jacques Le Castor and Pierre Parteret, who served the missionary so faithfully during his second voyage and were with him at his death, were, we believe, his companions on this first adventure. They were not of the type of the swaggering, reckless hunter or wood ranger like Du Luth; but men like Nicolet, who preserved French piety and devotion to duty in the midst of camp life.³

We can picture the motley crowd which gathered near the shore on the morning of that eventful seventeenth of May, 1673, to see the expedition start. Marquette offered the sacrifice of the Mass for the success of the enterprise while his companions knelt in prayer in the rude chapel. Then down to the shore came the wondering savages, believing that the seven men were embarking on a voyage which would end in certain death. The chiefs gave short harangues; Marquette exhorted the Christian Indians to be faithful in their religious duties, promising them that another Black Robe would soon come to take his place. He assured them that the Great Spirit would watch over him

³In the historical section of the Milwaukee Public Library there is a picture of Marquette sailing down the Mississippi in the company of Indians. But there were no Indians with him on this part of his voyage, the expedition consisting of seven Frenchmen—Marquette, Jolliet and five others. The attention of the authorities of the library has been called to this error; but they have allowed the picture to hang in the library for years and to give a false interpretation to a historical event which has a special appeal to the people of Wisconsin.

and his companions and preserve them from all harm. The seven Frenchmen were seated in the frail canoes; the Jesuit was to be no guest of the expedition; like the rest, he took his place to row; the paddles dipped, and the voyage of discovery was begun.

II. FINDING THE GREAT RIVER ⁴

It was no pleasure trip upon which Marquette and Jolliet embarked. The chill of winter was still in the air, the water was icy cold, and storms swept across the northern shore of Lake Michigan. When the tourist stands today and gazes out over the straits of Mackinac from the island beach, the waters seem tranquil, but when an excursion boat takes him a few hundred feet from the shore, he is surprised to find the vessel heaving in the choppy swells. Even if the day was the fairest the rowing was hard and tedious. But Marquette spoke of the joy that was in his heart; while the paddles dipped merrily over the lake. Day after day they skirted the northern shore of Lake Michigan. During this first part of the expedition they carried with them a little corn and dried meat. With their limited tenting supplies they must have suffered at this early part of the expedition the discomfortures of the cold nights. But every member of the expedition was inured to this manner of life. It was therefore no new experience for Marquette and his companions when they drew up their canoes on the damp, bleak shore for the night's bivouac. The wail of the pine trees or the breaking of the surf was familiar music to their ears.

It is about ninety miles in a straight line from Saint Ignace, the starting place to the peninsula which still bears its French name of Point de Tour. But the voyagers, who were forced to keep reasonably close to the shore, must have paddled more than a hundred and twenty miles. This was perhaps the most dangerous part of the expedition, as they were exposed to the storms of the open waters which today not infrequently wreck steamers. However, they could make for the land at the approach of a storm, and await calm weather.

Passing the Bays of Big and Little Noquette they came to the first Indian village of the Menominee or Wild Indians at the mouth of

⁴Accounts of the discovery of the Mississippi River and the exploration of the Mississippi Valley by Marquette and Jolliet may be found in the following volumes of the Jesuit Relations: Vol. 1, p. 34; Vol. 50, p. 322; Vol. 58, pp. 65, 71; Vol. 59, pp. 87-163, 293-299, 310; Vol. 65, p. 266. See also: American Catholic Historical Researches, vol. 10, pp. 76-79; vol. 12 p. 91; vol. 21, p. 42; vol. 22, p. 281.

the river which still bears the name of the tribe. "As we have preached the Gospel to them for many years," says Marquette, "there are many good Christians among them. The wild oats from which they take their name are a kind of grass which grows in marshy places and the slimy bottoms of small streams; they are like the wild oats which grow among our wheat. The ears are on jointed stalks which rise above the water about the month of June and continue to grow until they are two feet high. The grain is not as thick as our oats, but is twice as long, so that the meal from it is much more abundant. The following is the way in which the Indians gather it and prepare it for use. During the month of September, which is the harvest time, they go in canoes across these fields of oats, and shake the ears on their right and left as they advance; when ripe the grain falls easily, so that a sufficient quantity is collected in a short time. To clear it from chaff and free it from a pellicle in which it is enclosed, they put in on a wooden lattice under which a fire is kept smouldering for several days. When the oats are well dried they are put in a bag made of skin; the bag is then placed in a hole in the ground and treaded until the grain is ready for winnowing. It is then pounded into meal, or even unpounded is boiled in water seasoned with grease; prepared in this way, wild oats are almost as palatable as rice would be with the same seasoning.

"I informed these people of the Wild-Oats tribe of my design of going to discover distant nations, to instruct them in the mysteries of our holy faith; they were very much surprised, and did their best to dissuade me. They told me that I would meet nations that never spare strangers, but tomahawk them without any provocation; that the war which had broken out among the various tribes on our route exposed us to evident danger of being killed by the war parties which are constantly in the field; that the great river is dangerous for those who have not navigated it; that it is full of frightful monsters who swallow up men and canoes together; that it is guarded by a demon whose cry can be heard from afar and who stops the current and engulfs all who dare approach; that the heat is so excessive in those countries that it would infallibly cause our death.

"I thanked them for their kind advice but assured them that I could not follow it when the salvation of souls was concerned; for them I was ready to lay down my life. I made light of their pretended demon, telling them that we could defend ourselves against those river monsters, and could avoid the other dangers which threatened us. After praying with them and giving them some instruction I left them."

The forty miles of the voyage from the Menominees to the upper end of Green Bay proved interesting to the party. As the Indians called this the Salt Sea, most diligent search was made for salt springs; but, as none could be found, Marquette concluded that the place had received the name on account of the slime and mud of the bay, which gave forth noisome vapors. During this and his subsequent visit he noticed that this was a great storm center and attributed the loud and prolonged peals of thunder to the humidity of the locality. He also studied the tides of the lake and, observing that even during tranquil weather these tides rose and fell at regular intervals, he was convinced from his observations that they were due in part to the attraction of the moon.

The party tarried but a short time at the Mission of Saint Francis Xavier at the mouth of the Fox River near the present town of De Pere, where dwelt in peace Christian Indians of several tribes, two thousand of whom had been baptized during the past ten years. The scenery here was beautiful, and the river was filled with a variety of birds, especially ducks, which dived into the shallow water for the wild oats of the previous season. Blackbirds, too, rose with clamorous cries from the matted stalks of the wild oats along the margin of the bay and river.

Up the Fox River was a tedious and trying trip of nearly thirty miles. The water power which then dashed on to the lake has in our times been utilized to operate the largest pulp mills of the world; at that time the current formed a serious barrier to the progress of the western voyager. Rowing was impossible save at short intervals. With slow and toilsome work the canoes were dragged up the treacherous stream, the legs were benumbed by the icy water, and the feet were cut by the sharp stones in the twisting shallows. Then the two canoes glided out into Lake Winnebago. Both Marquette and Jolliet mark this lake upon their maps, although neither gives it a name. The Fox River flows into it and is its outlet to Lake Michigan. The sail along the western shore of the lake must have proved a pleasant respite after the struggle with the rapids below. On entering the upper branch of the Fox River, the voyagers did not experience any difficulty in rowing, for the water was deep and the current slow.

On the seventh of June they came to the Maskouten or Fire Nation. The precise location of this village is a matter of conjecture; but it was close to the Fox River and about midway between Lake Winnebago and the Wisconsin. Here the voyagers tarried for three days. Near the town Marquette drank of the water of a mineral spring, and examined an herb whose root, as the Indians claimed, was

an antidote against the bite of a serpent. In the centre of the village he was consoled on beholding a cross bedecked with belts and skins, and bows and arrows. He mistook this emblem as a sign of their belief in Christianity; but later investigation has proved that the pagan Indians of the west had used the cross as a symbol of religious belief long before the advent of the French. Still, it is possible that this cross in the rude village on the Fox River may have been connected by tradition with the Cross of Calvary, that Christianity, rude and fragmentary, and Christianity, living and vivifying, may have encircled the globe and met across the centuries.

“I felt no little pleasure in beholding the position of the town,” writes Marquette; “the view is beautiful and very picturesque, for from the eminence on which it is perched the eye discovers on every side prairies spreading far away, interspersed with thickets and groves of lofty trees. The soil is very good, producing much corn. The Indians gather quantities of plums, and also grapes from which good wine could be made.

“Their village is the limit of the discoveries made by the French, for they have not yet passed beyond it. The town is made up of three nations which inhabit it—the Miamis, the Maskoutens, and the Kikibous. The first are more civil, liberal and are better specimens of manhood; they wear two long earlocks which give them a good appearance. They have the name of being great warriors, and never send out war parties in vain; they are very docile, too, and listen quietly to what you tell them. When Father Allouez was here they were so eager to hear him that they gave him rest neither day nor night. The other two nations are ruder, and are like peasants when compared to the Miamis.”⁵

“As bark for cabins is rare in this country, the Indians use rushes which serve them for walls and roofs; their cabins, however, do not shelter them from the wind and still less from the rain when it falls in torrents. The advantage of this kind of dwelling is that it can be folded and carried easily when the Indians are hunting.

⁵In the main reception room of Marquette University may be seen the original copy of the classical picture of Marquette, by the Austrian painter, Lamprecht. As far as I have been able to learn, Lamprecht came to the United States about the year 1867 and settled in Cincinnati where he painted this picture. It was put on exhibition and then offered for sale; then it was put in storage for some years and was slightly damaged. About 1883 it was purchased by a friend and presented to Marquette University. My interpretation of the picture is the meeting of Marquette and the Miami Indians at this place of his voyage.

“No sooner had we arrived than M. Jolliet and myself assembled the sachems. He told them that he had been sent by the governor to discover new countries, and that I had come to illumine them with the light of the gospel; that the Sovereign Master of our lives wished to be known by all nations, and that to obey his will I did not fear death, to which I exposed myself in such dangerous voyages. We then made them a present and begged them to give us two guides. This they did willingly; they also gave us a present,—a mat to serve as a bed during our voyage.”

After tarrying for three days in this hospitable village, on the morning of the tenth of June the voyagers set forth with their two guides. The Indians were amazed to see seven Frenchmen in two small canoes undertake so dangerous an expedition. The channel of the Fox River now became narrow, and twisting, and choked with duck-weed, wild oats, and other semi-aquatic vegetation; it opened out at times into marshes and small lakes, fringed with decayed stems of the previous year's growth, and dotted with the half-submerged domed houses of colonies of muskrats; or was covered with water lilies, which entirely obliterated all semblance of passage. At times the struggling current seemed lost beneath the impending willows. Only the experience and instinct of the Miami could have guided the canoes through the watery maze.

The writer will never forget his surprise on first visiting the historic watershed which separates the tributaries of the Great Lakes from those of the Mississippi. Here the Fox River has lost all claims to its name, for a small canoe or skiff can reach from bank to bank; the stream which on leaving Lake Winnebago can turn a thousand turbines, labors to push aside the smallest craft. At this particular locality it runs due north. A small ship canal now connects it with the Wisconsin at a short distance from the old Indian trail over the bank of the latter river there was erected, Oct. 19, 1905, a statue with the following inscription: This tablet marks the place near which Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet entered the Wisconsin River, June 17, 1673. The Wisconsin here is a magnificent stream more than a quarter of a mile in width, with an abundant supply of water, with a deep rushing current which seems to exult in its freedom and strength. Some distance farther up, in the far famed Wisconsin Dells, the river has been forced between the lime-stone cliffs. But now it is free, and no other obstruction will bar it as it rushes on to throw its current into the bosom of the greatest river of the world.

From the northern streamlet where the canoes touched either shore and stirred the buddy bottom of the struggling waters, the voy-

agers disembarked. It required but a few minutes to cross the short unobstructed portage, and the eyes of all were gladdened by the sight of the swift current of the Wisconsin River which rushed before them. Upon this stream no European had ever gazed.⁶ Where would it take the explorer? Into what ocean or sea or gulf did it empty? Did treacherous cataracts await the unwary boatmen? No one could tell. The Miami guides could give no further information; they feasted with the party and started homewards.

Marquette was not forgetful of the religious aspect of the expedition; he trusted then, as he had trusted before, in the powerful intercession of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate. Down upon the sands he knelt with his companions; devout men were they, and like the priest believed in the efficacy of prayer. So they prayed, prayed for the protection of heaven, prayed for the success of the voyage. Then the canoes were launched again; were caught by the current and borne in a southwestern direction.

Although there was a cessation from rowing, labor and skill were required to guide the canoes in the ever changing current. There was danger from snags; but the water was warm, and it was but a short delay to step from the stranded canoe and push it from the shallows. They passed vine-clad islands, and shores diversified with wood and prairie and hill, and clothed in the spring foliage of oaks, and walnuts, and thorny locust-trees. An occasional deer looked out from the foliage and grazing buffalo took fright at the approach of the white men. Stopping one day they found what seemed to be an iron mine. At night they camped upon one of the many islands and dragged their canoes ashore. A campfire was lit and sagamite was made of the corn upon which they were still depending for their subsistence. Then came evening prayer, the fire was extinguished and silence—the silence

⁶See the long and scholarly article, "Grosceilliers and Radisson," by Warren Upham, in the "Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society," Vol. X, Part III, pp. 449-594. It is claimed in this paper that Radisson and his companion reached not only the Wisconsin but the Mississippi River. However Mr. Upham does not consider his conclusions entirely convincing, and grants that even if it were proved beyond doubt that Radisson reached the Mississippi, that Radisson does not deserve the honors of a discoverer, as "he failed to discern the important geographic significance of the river, etc." Mr. Upham would give the highest honor of its discovery to Jolliet and Marquette, "because they made known what they found." In this paper Mr. Upham agrees with my own definition of a discoverer and my reasons for calling Marquette and Jolliet the true discoverers of the Mississippi River. (See the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Oct., 1923, p. 40). At the end of Mr. Upham's article is a long and valuable list of references.

of centuries, settled down upon the river and the landscape. For four days they drifted down the Wisconsin until, on the seventeenth of June, 1673, their canoes glided out into the broad swift current of the Mississippi. "We safely entered the Mississippi on the seventeenth of June, with a joy I cannot express," such is the simple record which Marquette made of his memorable discovery.

Two centuries and more have wrought but little change upon the scene which gladdened the sight of Marquette on that eventful seventeenth of June when his canoe glided out into the current of the Mississippi. On the left bank of the Wisconsin River rises today a series of hills whose large oak trees bear witness to the fact that nature here has been undisturbed.⁷

To the right of the Mississippi the Iowa bluffs of limestone, fringed with oaks and birch, bear the impress of ages. Marquette was so impressed with the high banks that he called them a chain of mountains. A glance at the landscape from the top of these elevations will convince one that the scene has remained unaltered, with the exception of the lowlands at the juncture, just north of the Wisconsin and east of the Mississippi, where the sand banks and willow patches must have shifted with the spring freshets.

The priest discoverer was alert to every sight and sound. We do not know just how he kept his diary—whether he wrote it in detail as he drifted down the river or collected notes which he afterwards arranged. But the account of this voyage as we have it from his pen is so complete in every detail that it will forever form one of the most important documents of American history. It is simply marvelous how he succeeded in getting the exact names of the Wabash River and the Indian tribes so far west that civilization brushed against them only a century later. If we but read the account which he left us, study the map which he drew, and compare the results of his expedition with those of later expeditions, we must conclude that Parkman had but a superficial knowledge of the character of Marquette when he wrote the discoverer down as a dreamer and compared him to some figure evoked from the dim visions of medieval saintship.

Down the great river drifted the canoes of the voyagers; past the impending sycamores and the cottonwood trees which here supplanted the lordly white pines of the lake regions; past the rocky contours of

⁷On a seventeenth of June, and therefore the anniversary of the discovery of the Mississippi River, I got my first view of the mouth of the Wisconsin River. With a single companion and in a small canoe I rowed up the Wisconsin and drifted out into the current of the Mississippi. After this experience I wrote my impressions of the confluence of the two rivers.

the western banks, which the waters far back in geological eras had carved into fantastic forms; past the undulating prairies of Illinois, where deer and buffalo grazed undisturbed by the approach of the white man; past bog and marsh and lagoon, where waterfowl dipped and swam and dived for shoals of minnows in the oozy bottom; past islands glinting with silicious mounds, or green with flags and rushes and fringing willows.

From the mouth of the Wisconsin to the juncture of the Ohio, the Mississippi flows through a channel of from three hundred to four hundred feet below the first geological strata. Its bold bluffs have been undisturbed for centuries. A singular phenomenon of the stream is that its width is not increased by the absorption of even the largest tributaries. But the depth gradually increase with the influx of every river, until at Natchez the channel is one hundred and eighteen feet. We can gain some idea of the immense watershed which it drains by comparing its extena with the continent of Europe; for if plotted upon the map of that country it "would stretch from the North Sea to the confines of Tartary, and from the Mediterranean to the Baltic."

Even after the lapse of centuries man has not brought the mighty Mississippi under his entire subjection. The untamed current still bids defiance to dykes and stone embankments; there can still be seen vast extents of lowlands and wooded shores untouched by plow or ax; there still arise lonely islands, some with no signs of vegetation, others clothed with cottonwood or blighted willows. Myriads of blackbirds haunt the air overhead at evening; herons with blue, lustrous wings keep guard along the water's edge; and solitary cranes look out from shallows and beds of rushes.

Then the scene changes, and the poetry of nature vanishes before the smoke and unsightly factories of cities—Dubuque, Davenport, Moline, Quincy, Alton, and St. Louis.

But the work of man has not been all desecration, for high above the hilltops on either shore rise many a gilded cross and church tower. Proof are they that the fondest hopes of Marquette have been realized, and that the banks of the great stream have been consecrated to God.

Again the scene shifts. Towers and factories and smoky horizon vanish; the great steel bridges seem but toys; no gap among the trees reveals the presence of the iron road; the lonely hut among the willows is invisible; the cumbrous boats of the pearl fishers are no longer seen. White-breasted swallows skim the water's surface, and swift-winged bats cleave the air. Nor bank nor island nor water is marked

by the presence of man; and the long stretch of shoreline is as wild and unbroken as the solitudes of the Congo or Amazon.⁸

While no doubt every member of his expedition was interested in the strange sights of a strange land, yet it is probable that Marquette's superior education made him more interested than were his companions; and the fact that he was preparing a report caused him to be more observant. Throughout this part of his diary he constantly refers to the actions of the whole party. At times the latitude was taken, but the results do not tally with the more exact computations of later days. The width of the river was measured, and the channel was sounded for the depth. They noticed the gradual change of the face of nature as they followed the course of the river to the south and southwest. Monstrous catfish were seen, one of which struck the canoe with great violence. A wildcat was observed swimming on the surface of the water, and appeared fierce and tigerlike, magnified no doubt by the broken surface of the water. On casting their nets the canoe-men caught a fish which Marquette called remarkable and described with such accuracy that Director S. A. Forbes of the Natural History Survey of Illinois could easily identify it as the paddlefish or shovel-cat. This expert ichthyologist corroborates the statements of Marquette and calls the shovel-cat "the most remarkable of our fresh-water fishes."

Although no traces of human habitation were visible, still the explorers ran no risk of a surprise by any lurking foe. Landing only when it was necessary to prepare a meal, they made but little fire, and on finishing their hasty repast they at once pulled away in their canoes before the smoke could attract any unfriendly Indians. They never slept on the shore at night, but only in their canoes, anchored off some secluded island, and sheltered by patches of willows or wind-draws of sand. Even with this precaution, one of the party kept watch throughout the night.

After sailing and rowing for eight days, on the twenty-fifth of June, at the mouth of the Des Moines River, they saw for the first time footprints on the shore. Further observation revealed a well-beaten path leading through the woods which skirted the shore and across the undulating prairies. Marquette and Jolliet undertook the hazardous burden of exploring the country, leaving their companions with the canoes and cautioning them against surprise. Here we have the ideal leaders of an expedition, choosing for themselves the posts

⁸ These impressions were written after a delightful trip down the Mississippi River from the Wisconsin River to the mouth of the Missouri.

of danger and leaving the safer tasks to their followers. But they were bent on no pleasure trip. To bring to Canada and to France practical results of the expedition the leaders must gather information from the tribes which dwelt along the great river. This information could not be obtained by riding securely in their canoes. The Indians must be visited.

Marquette confessed that he was awed by the quiet of the great silence of the vast prairies as for five miles he trod the narrow path to the west; and when from an eminence he beheld the Indian villages basking in the sunshine below him, he implored th help and protection of God. Then boldly and fearlessly, with no other weapon than his crucifix to protect him, he walked to meet the savages. The Indians proved to be Marquette's former friends, whom he had met two years before on the bleak shore of Lake Superior. Longfellow, in the last chapter of *Hiawatha*, drew much of his pleasing imagery and Indian lore from the diary of Marquette. Nor did he fail to give his references to the journal of the Jesuit. In later editions of his works, however, these references were omitted by publishers, and the poet was unjustly accusd of plagiarism by thoughtless scholars.

For four days the Frenchmen tarried in the village of the friendly Illinois, sleeping in the cabin of the sachem, visiting villages, being guests at banquets, attending the dances, listening to orators, and smoking the calumet. Those were not days of idle curiosity for Marquette, for besides instructing the savages he obtained valuable information in regard to other tribes. On studying the map of his voyage it is a matter of supreme surprise to the historian to find the names of Indian villages far away to the slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Whence all this fund of knowledge? Much of it was no doubt gathered during this visit to the Illinois. For, finding them friendly, and understanding their language, Marquette gathered from them the names of the tribes with whom they had traded or carried on war. True chronicler was he; and historians have written him down as the Herodotus of the Mississippi Valley.

Bearing with them the mystic calumet, which was to prove a veritable talisman in the hour of danger, the explorers resumed their voyage, less fearful now, after the Indians had proved so friendly. The current was clear and gentle; nature was teeming with life and beauty. The party sought rest at times, and leaving the small and cramped canoes, wandered among the groves along the river, picking delicious mulberries and enjoying the savory fruit of the may-apple. Marquette noted down each flowers and berry and tree with such exactness that the botanist and dendrologist have but little difficulty

in recognizing the species. He compared the mulberry to those which grew in France, and described the may-apple as a small fruit shaped like an olive but having the taste of an orange. Some member of the party attempted to eat a green persimmon with the ill success no doubt of many a country urchin who for the first time is tempted by his playmates to touch this forbidden fruit of summer. The chinquips although not as yet mature proved a more welcome morsel. To the margin of the prairies, too, the Frenchmen strolled, where wild strawberries were abundant and blue-eyed grass, the mimic violet of the meadows, grew in clumps; or, they gathered scarlet and yellow columbines from the crevices of the grey cliffs.

And now the voyagers beheld the two most astonishing sights of the expedition—the painted monsters of the Alton Bluffs and the juncture of the Missouri River.

“As we coasted along rocks frightful for their heights and length, we saw on one of them two painted monsters which at first sight startled us; the boldest Indian dares not gaze on them. They are as large as a calf, with horns like a deer, a frightful look, red eyes, bearded like a tiger, the face somewhat like a man’s, the body covered with scales and the tail so long that it twice passes around the body, going over the head and down between the legs, and ending at last in a fish’s tail. It is painted green and red and a kind of black. On the whole these two monsters are so well designed that one would not believe that it is the work of an Indian; an artist in France would find it difficult to excel the workmanship. They are so high upon the rock that it is difficult to see how the Indians succeeded in painting them.”

Marquette made a drawing of the Painted Monsters, and although it has not been preserved future travelers bore testimony to the accuracy of his description. The paintings have long since vanished, and commercial enterprise has quarried away the limestone bluffs for the use of cement mills; the story, however, is destined to live for generations. Sunday editions of the St. Louis papers have periodically reproduced weird and phantastic interpretations of these Indian paintings, now called the Piasa; and legend in prose and verse has often rehearsed the story of love or valor, which first inspired the savage to paint the pictures high upon the stone canvas of nature.

While the Frenchmen were discoursing about the origin of the strange Indian paintings the roar of rapids was heard below. They were approaching the confluence of the two greatest rivers of the continent. “I have seen nothing more frightful,” writes Marquette, “a mass of large trees, entire with their branches forming real float-

ing islands came rushing from the mouth of the River Pekitanoui (Missouri) and so violently that we could not without danger expose ourselves to enter the current. So great was the agitation that the water was very muddy and remained so during the rest of our voyage.”

The writer has had many opportunities of verifying the description here given of the Missouri; he has often stood upon its banks a few miles from the junction of the two rivers, and at a time when the June rise was at its greatest height. The mighty Missouri gathering in its strength from countless streams and swollen rivers for more than a thousand miles seems conscious of its power, and plunges on with ever increasing velocity to do battle with the Mississippi. It carries whole forests as its weapons and hurls huge logs against the projecting banks with the force of battering rams as if angered by the resistance which they offer. The largest trees when caught in the whirling eddies now raise their branching heads like monster Neptunes to view the scene,—now disappear, and swept by the force of the undercurrent, dash on in inextricable confusion. Such is the great river which threw its strong current athwart the bow of Marquette’s canoe and made the frail vessel tremble in its angry waters.

At this juncture begins the battle of the rivers. While will win? The clear current of the Mississippi retreats to the eastern shore as if unwilling to commingle with the muddy waters of the Missouri; and mighty as is the intruder it is received into the basin of its rival and does not succeed in adding a yard to the latter’s width; it is overpowered and engulfed by the current from the north. So far the Mississippi must be adjudged the victor. But by degrees it loses its character as a smooth, clear and placid stream, and partakes of the nature of the Missouri. It boils and surges as if mighty caldrons were seething below; it bursts its bounds, and goes raging to the sea, and soothes its anger only when it is lost in the Gulf of Mexico.

We have seen that while Marquette was teaching his Christian Indians at La Pointe and Saint Ignace, he yearned for the more difficult Missions among the Illinois; and now his vision is turned towards the west. From the Illinois he had learned of the great length of the Missouri,—that many Indian towns were built along its banks, that it stretched far to the west over boundless and trackless prairies, and finally that its head waters were not far distant from the source of another river, which flowed into the Gulf of California. Again we marvel at the exactness of the knowledge that the priest explorer gained, as he spoke but imperfectly the languages of the tribes which he met. More than a century was to elapse before his

statements were verifid; but when the tide of emigration swept over the west and beyond the Rocky Mountains, it followd the way that Marquette had indicated. His was not to be the favor of ascending the Missouri and instructing the tribes at its sources; it was a fellow Jesuit, De Smet, however, who after two centuries was to traverse these vast regions and preach to the Black Feet Indians in the plains of Montana.

Borne on the bosom of the muddy river, the explorers passed the scene where the throbbing life of the great inland city of St. Louis was once to rise. Before coming to the mouth of the Ohio they viewed the high bluffs and isolated peaks which have so often delighted the tourist on the Mississippi River. Just before approaching the alluvial banks on both sides of the river nature has built up on the eastern shore formidable cliffs of limestone. The outcropping strata is broken and twisted, bearing evident marks of some mighty throe of nature similar perhaps to those earthquakes which in the beginning of the nineteenth century changed the face of the land for hundreds of miles, in this very section of the country. Marquette took note of the fact that the whole current of the river was at this place forced into a narrow channel and that the water boiled furiously as it was checked by huge stones and banks of an island. High above the water in the limestone cliff he saw a cave, the habitation of a manitou, or demon, who as the Indians believed, devoured all attempting to pass. These high rocks and banks are easily identified today by the tourist from the deck of a steamer. They are just above the Big Muddy River and are known as the Devil's Bakeoven, the Backbone, the Big Hill and the Grand Chain. Outeroops of iron ore were also noted along the high banks; recent geological reports verify the statement that iron exists here, but not in sufficient quantity to become valuable for manufacture. Marquette described the clays along the banks as "unctious earth of three colors—purple, violet and red." These clays have been utilized in our times for the manufacture of a superior kind of pottery.

The Ohio does not seem to have impressed the canoemen as a river of great importance; but its Indian name (Quaboukigou) was recorded both on the map and in the diary of Marquette. South of the Ohio the whole face of nature changed. Dendrologists assure us that there are no abrupt lines of demarkation between the species of trees of the north and south; and examples are cited of the hemlock of the arctic region flourishing by the side of the magnolia of the tropics, the latter hibernating in winter and the former withstanding the heats of summer. But the Mississippi Valley below the mouth of the

Ohio changes rapidly, a change which Marquette noted. The reeds along the banks became high and thick, so that herds of buffalo worked their way through them with difficulty, the sycamore and ash yielded to the pecan and sweet gum, and the cypress began its lordly reign; swarms of mosquitoes tortured the Frenchmen, forcing them to take shelter beneath the skins which they used at times for sails.

“While thus borne on at the will of the current,” writes Marquette, “we perceived on the shore Indians, armed with guns, with which they awaited us. I presented my calumet while my companions stood ready to fire if they should attack us. I hailed them in Huron, but they answered by a word which seemed a declaration of war. They were, however, as much frightened as ourselves; and what we had taken for a signal of war was an invitation to come ashore for food. We accordingly landed and entered their cabins where they presented us with wild-beef, bear’s oil, and white plums which were excellent. They have guns, axes, hoes, knives, beads and glass bottles in which they keep their powder. They wear their hair long and mark their bodies as do the Iroquois; the head-dress and clothing of the women were like those of the Huron squaws.

They assured us that it was not more than ten days’ journey to the sea. The clothing and other articles they had bought from Europeans who were like myself, so they said; they had rosaries and pictures, and played on musical instruments. I did not see anyone who seemed to have received instruction in the faith. I gave a few medals to them.”

Marquette does not give us the name of this tribe, and we have no means of finding out the exact location of the villages. The Indians may have been a branch of the warlike Chickasaws whose villages reached for hundreds of miles to the east, and brought them into communication with the Spanish settlements. The announcement that the sea was so near gave new courage to the explorers, who remained but a short time with the Indians, and on embarking resumed their work at the oars with renewed ardor.

Down they floated with the current, passing numerous islands where the ubiquitous willow battled with reeds and rushes; entering quiet sloughs and bayous, alive with fish and noisy with aquatic fowl; approaching the festooned banks, where giant cypress trees reigned in a kingdom all their own; frightening flocks of pelicans, which were feeding in the half submerged cane brakes; listening to the crash of matted shores, where the sand and soil had been washed from beneath the impending growth; sailing, floating, rowing, down the great river they went with happy and expectant hearts, conscious of the fact that

every whiff of wind or stroke of the oar brought them nearer to the goal for which they strove.

At the mouth of the Saint Francis River in Arkansas they beheld another Indian village and drew near to interview the savages, whom Marquette called the Mitchigameaes.

“We had recourse to our patroness, the Blessed Virgin Immaculate; and indeed we needed her aid, for we heard the Indians yelling and exciting each other to attack us. They were armed with bows, arrows, axes and war-clubs, and were prepared to combat us by land and sea. Embarking in large wooden canoes, some went up the river and some down so as to surround us completely, while those on the shore stood ready to oppose us. Some of the young braves sprang into the water and attempted to seize my canoe, but the current forced them to return to the shore; one of them threw his war-club at us, which passed over our heads without doing us any harm. In vain I showed the calumet and tried to explain that I had not come as an enemy, for the alarm continued and they were about to shower their arrows upon us when God touched the hearts of the old men on the water-side. It seems that at a distance they had not recognized the calumet; but as I continued to show it they were finally induced to cease hostilities and to restrain the ardor of the younger warriors. Two of the chiefs threw their bows and arrows into our canoe, then entered and brought us to the shore, where we disembarked not without fear on our part. We had at first to speak by signs, for not a one there could understand a word of the six languages which I knew; at last an old man was found who spoke a little Illinois.

“Presenting them with some gifts we informed them that we were going to the sea; they understood this perfectly but I do not know whether they comprehended what I told them of things which concerned their salvation. It is a seed cast in the earth which will bear its fruit in season. We got no answer except that we should learn all we desired at another village lower down the river at a distance of eight or ten leagues. We were presented with sagamite and fish, and spent the night among them, not, however, without some uneasiness.

“Preceded by ten Indians in a canoe we embarked the next morning with out interpreter. When we were within a league of Arkamsea (Arkansas) we saw two canoes coming to meet us. The commander was standing in the bow holding in his hands the calumet, with which he made signs according to the custom of the country; as he approached he sang quite agreeably and invited us to smoke. He then presented us with some sagamite and bread made of Indian corn, of which we ate a little; after this he took the lead towards the village,

making us a sign to follow slowly. In the meanwhile a place had been prepared for us in the wigwam of the chief; it was neat and carpeted with fine mats made of reeds on which they made us sit down with the sachems immediately around us, the braves next, and then the people in crowds. We fortunately found among them a young Indian who spoke Illinois better than the interpreter who had accompanied us. Through him, I spoke to them and gave the ordinary presents; they admired what I told them of God and the mysteries of our holy Faith, and showed a great desire to keep me with them to instruct them.

“We then asked them what they knew of the sea. They replied that we were only ten days’ journey from it (we could have made it in five days). They did not know the nations that inhabited the river farther down; and had been prevented by their enemies from having intercourse with the Europeans there. They had hatchets, knives, and beads which they had obtained from the tribes east of the river and from the Illinois about four miles to the west. We learned that the Indians whom we met and who used fire arms were their enemies, cutting them off from the passage to the sea, preventing them making the acquaintance of the Europeans, or having any commerce with them. We were warned that by going farther we would expose ourselves to great danger, for the war parties of these hostile tribes continually infested the banks of the river. During this conversation sagamite was brought to us on wooden dishes, as also ears of green corn and pieces of dog’s flesh; thus the whole day was spent in feasting.

“These Indians are very courteous, and freely give what they have, but they are very poorly off for food since they cannot hunt wild-cattle on account of their enemies. It is true that they have an abundance of Indian corn which they sow at all seasons; we saw one crop just sprouting, another in the ear, and a third ripe. They cook it in large earthen pots which are well made; they have also dishes of baked earth which they employ for various purposes. The men go naked and wear their hair short; from the nose and ears which are pierced hand strings of beads. The women are dressed in wretched skins; they wear the hair braided on either side, but do not make use of any ornaments. Their banquets are without ceremony, everyone eating as much as he wishes from a wooden dish and giving what is left to his neighbor. The language is extremely difficult, and with all my efforts I could not succeed in pronouncing some words. Their cabins are long and wide and are made of bark; they sleep at the extremities on platforms raised about two feet from the ground.

Their corn is preserved in gourds or baskets made of cane; their riches consist in the hides of wild cattle. The beaver is not found here; nor have the savages ever seen snow. It is never cold, but during the winter it rains oftener than in summer. The watermelon was the only fruit we found; but if the people knew how to cultivate the ground they could have all kinds of fruit.

“In the evening the sachems held a secret council with the intention of killing and plundering us, but the chief broke up their schemes and sending for us danced the calumet in our presence in the manner I described above, as a mark of perfect assurance that no injury would befall; then to remove our fears he gave the calumet to me.”

It was now the seventeenth of July, one month having elapsed since the Frenchmen had left the mouth of the Wisconsin River. Marquette knew that he had already passed further south than Virginia so that the Mississippi could not flow through that land on its way to the ocean. As his voyage had been due south he knew also that the river which he was navigating could not empty into the Gulf of California; there was no other outlet for it, therefore, except the Gulf of Mexico. This conclusion was confirmed by the savages who affirmed that it was but a few days' voyage to the gulf. Marquette and Jolliet deliberated about the advisability of going farther. Had De Soto been leader of the expedition he would have followed the Mississippi to its mouth out of love of adventure; had La Salle been in the command he would probably have acted without foresight or consultation. Marquette and Jolliet deliberated long over the reasons for continuing farther or returning. They had discovered the Mississippi, knew of its sources among the lakes of the far north, had followed its current for a month due south and had learned definitely that it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. To reach the mouth of the river would add nothing to the information already gathered. The return voyage would be longer and more difficult and might even be prolonged into the cold of winter. The Indians farther down the river were represented as fierce and hostile; there were Spanish settlements, too, where French explorers might not be received with favor.

“We considered moreover,” recorded Marquette, “that we would expose ourselves to the risk of losing the fruit of our voyage if we were captured by the Spaniards, who would at least hold us as prisoners; besides it was clear that we were not prepared to resist the Indian allies of the Europeans, for these savages were expert in the use of firearms; lastly we had gathered all the information that could be desired from the expedition. After weighing all these reasons we

resolved to return; this we announced to the Indians, and after a day's rest prepared to commence our return trip."

Of his return trip the missionary says but little; the dysentary which had so enfeebled him seems to have made it impossible for him to enjoy longer the varied scenes through which he passed. Instead of returning by the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers, a shorter route was taken by way of the Illinois River and Lake Michigan. We are not informed, however, as to how the travelers got their information in regard to this shorter route. In a brief reference to a return trip Marquette writes:

"We found there an Illinois village called Kaskaskia composed of seventy-four cabins. The savages received us kindly and compelled me to promise to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of the tribe with his young braves accompanied us to the lake of the Illinois (Michigan). Coasting along the shore towards the north we came at the close of September to the Bay of Puans from which we had set out in the beginning of June.

"Had all this voyage caused but the salvation of a single soul I should consider my fatigue well repaid; as indeed it was when on my return trip I stayed three days with the Peoria Indians. For when we were about to embark they brought to the water's edge a dying child which I baptized; it expired a few minutes later by an admirable Providence of God for its innocent soul."

HENRY S. SPALDING, S. J.

THE FRANCISCAN MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA

A Reverie

One of the world's most famous painters had a son, likewise a painter. The son, however, never won from the world the same high degree of recognition that was accorded his more illustrious father. This young man undertook to paint a picture of an old highway that ran through the country-side near his home. He was fearful that men might change its course, as men, in their whimsical fancy, so often do. He feared that if he did not trace upon his canvas the outlines of this old road of his boyhood, that, when old age came upon him, he would have no definite stage upon which his memory could re-enact the most pleasant and important events of his earlier years. Feverishly he went to work, fearful, even as he worked, that men might change a stone or move a fence or fell a tree.

When, at last, the road had been placed upon his canvas, he called his father in to see the picture. Several minutes had the old man spent in examination of his son's work. At length the young man made bold to ask his father what he thought of it. The father replied: "Well, my son, you have painted a most wonderful picture of that old road, but it is all for you. For me and for the ages that are to come, no forest chorus dwells among your trees waiting to awaken the slumbering countryside to greet the king of day at dawn. Some people there might be who would want to see boyhood and the sunshine romping hand in hand adown your road at noon. There is nothing of the drowsy quiet of a summer afternoon. No evening song bids the day's farewell to the slowly sinking western sun. You have a pathway, it is true, but I can find no trace of the thousands upon thousands of human beings, who, throughout the years, have wended, some, their joyous, others their toilsome, way along its friendly bosom."

* * *

Some of you, no doubt, at some time or another, have paid a visit to the old Franciscan Missions of California; others of you may be living in the hope that at some future time you may enjoy the privilege of wandering down the historic corridors of those old Missions that still are standing or of musing amid the ruins of those now fallen into decay, and which even in their ashes give forth the pleasant odor of a good and holy work accomplished where once they stood in all their majestic splendor. For those of you who have seen them, it

may be that I can awaken memories of a pleasant and profitable hour; for those of you who are yet to see them, perhaps I can suggest an avenue of approach down which you might not otherwise have traveled to their doors.

It is my privilege to direct your attention, for a little while, to the old Missions of California; to ask you to come with me in spirit whilst we roam among the physical ruins of what the Hon. B. D. Wilson, in his report to the Department of the Interior, in 1852, was pleased to describe in substance as one of the greatest works that ever engaged the hands or animated the hearts and souls of men upon this continent. It was a labor of love—a labor for God—this winning of souls from the barren deserts of barbarism to the fruitful fields of Christian civilization.

Out along the shore of California, for the most part within easy hearing of the Pacific surf at play upon the beaches, there fell from the sandaled feet of Franciscan Friars a trail—a pathway in the sands. It extends from the southmost border of California northward to Sonoma, quite some distance north of San Francisco Bay.

History records that the king of Spain had thought of establishing Missions in Alta or Upper California, not only because a great charitable work might be done for the Indians, but also because occupation for such a purpose would serve as an assertion of Spanish sovereignty over the territory.

John de Galvez, Visitor-General to the Mexican provinces of Spain, during the year 1767, came to regard the more frequently occurring visits of the Russians to Alta California as a positive indication that they contemplated seizure of that vast domain. Should this be done, he saw a valuable land lost to Spain and, zealous Catholic as he was, he trembled as he thought of the loss that the natives would sustain if the light of God's True Faith should never illumine the utter darkness wherein these natives dwelt. He thought, and rightly, that since Viscayno, in 1602-3, had landed upon the shores of Alta California, both at San Diego and at Monterey, that, therefore, this land belonged of right to Spain. He conceived the idea of equipping and sending expeditions to formally occupy and later develop this extensive territory at least as far north as Monterey. But before he would execute his plan, he would consult with his good friend, Father Junipero Serra, and ask of him advice. Father Serra immediately realized that if this territory was to be occupied for state and commercial purposes, an excellent opportunity would be presented whereby the natives might be brought within the arms of Mother Church. To him, of course, this rose as an end to be devoutly hoped for. His

great soul was fired with zeal. To hasten to these natives was the one great task of the moment and a task whose execution must not be deferred.

Accordingly, in 1769, expeditions set forth from Mexico; two by sea and two by land. Of the two by land, leaving during March of that year, one was accompanied by Father Serra, who, as the years rolled by, would come to be known as the Grand Old Padre of the Missions, and who, as his wonderful life drew to its close, would sit enthroned, in the hearts of those who knew him, as a saint.¹ The other land expedition was accompanied by Father Serra's old school and novice-mate, Father Crespi, whom history has since portrayed as another of the many sterling characters to be found amongst the Mission Padres.² Space does not permit, although I wish it did, that

¹ Father Serra was born at Petra, Island of Majorca, Nov. 24, 1713. He entered the Franciscan Order, Sept. 14, 1730. Sept. 15, 1731, he took the final vows and at that time assumed the name of Junipero, out of love for the jovial and pure-hearted companion of St. Francis. During his novitiate days he was attracted to, and became intensely interested in, the work of the Indian missionaries in Spanish America. Upon hearing of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Lower California, he and a band of brother missionaries embarked for Mexico to take up the work theretofore carried on by the exiled Jesuits. From the year of his arrival in Mexico (1749) until his departure to take charge of the Missions about to be established in Upper California (1769), he devoted most of his time to the Sierra Gorda and Texas Missions.

"He was regarded universally as a saint, and in the plan of the remarkable Missions which he founded, in maintaining and developing them, and the constant opposition of officials, in patience, serenity, endurance, and fortitude, he certainly ranks among the most remarkable men of the country." (The Church in the United States, John Gilmary Shea, page 344.)

Outside the Church, his group of admirers is constantly increasing in number and this admiration of a great man and his great deeds is expressing itself in permanent form. Mrs. Stanford, a non-Catholic admirer of Father Serra's great service to mankind, has had erected, at Monterey, a granite monument to his memory. A bronze statue of heroic size now occupies a place in Golden Gate Park, in San Francisco, a permanent tribute to the great service this good and holy priest rendered for the Indians of California. In 1884 the legislature of California passed a resolution declaring the twenty-ninth day of August of that year, the centennial of Father Serra's burial, a legal holiday. Father Serra died Aug. 28, 1784, and his body was laid to rest at San Carlos Carmelo by the side of his loving and beloved co-worker, Father Crespi. (See Cath. Encyc. Vol. XIII, page 730, Bancroft's Works, Vol. XXXIV, pages 168-176.)

² Father Crespi was a college mate of Father Serra. No account of his life appears in the Catholic Encyclopedia, except as he is here and there mentioned in connection with the history of the California Missions. He was very much attached to Father Serra to whom he gave every possible assistance in the founding of the Missions. His death occurred in 1783, his body being interred

we might travel northward with these two bands under the guidance of these zealous priests. We cannot walk with them, as, indeed, they walked, for Father Serra, true to his vow, would walk despite the cruel pain and torture of his ulcered limb. This infirmity, which so afflicted him, was the result of an injury that he had received during his previous services in the Texas and Sierra Gorda Missions. Throughout his entire life, he ever bore in mind the fact that St. Francis refused to travel except as he would walk. Walking was the poor man's mode of travel and St. Francis would be known to the history of the world as one of the poorest of God's poor. In the footsteps of the Founder, Serra, a dutiful and zealous son of the good St. Francis, would walk in spite of physical pain and suffering and in spite of any difficulty.

On the fourteenth of the following May, Father Crespi and his bedraggled band of friars and soldiers arrived at the first of their two destinations. Six weeks later they were joined by Father Serra and his companions. The way had been long,—and both bands, moving northward over different routes, had frequently encountered unfriendly savages. Their feet were scarred and torn and blistered by the stony paths and the burning sands of that semi-tropical region. The climate added its share to their other hardships, bringing sickness into their ranks,—yet, on beyond the horizon that bounded their present miseries, these two noble priests saw the light of a brighter day wherein much would be done for God and the men to whom they were going. The fires of ardor, that burned so brightly in the souls of these two missionaries, lent warmth to the hearts of the men who accompanied them and gave them strength to surmount the difficulties that had made hard their way so far. It would be useless for us to assume that we can, in any but a small way, imagine the degree of joy that thrilled the hearts of these two little bands, when, in the prairie valley that leads down to San Diego Bay, they met again. On the sixteenth of July, beneath the spreading arms of a rude cross they had erected on the bank of San Diego River and within sight of the harbor, they established and formally dedicated a small brush church as the first Mission of San Diego—the first of the now famous Missions of California.³

Before leaving Mexico, Father Serra had placed the Missions of

at San Carlos Carmelo. He is spoken of only incidentally by Bancroft and not much more is said of him by James in his "In and Out of the Old Missions."

³ (See "The Church in the United States," page 332, by John Gilmary Shea; Cath. Encyc. Vol. III, page 180; Bancroft, Hubert H., Vol. XXXIV, page 184.)

California under the protection of St. Joseph. Why he should have done so, we may imagine and perhaps we may not be far wrong. Even though his zeal was the warmest, as we know it was, certainly he was not the man to underestimate the magnitude of the task that lay before him and his confreres. Undoubtedly he knew that to lay paths through the sandy wastes and the unexplored forests, over and into which they must go—to conquer the stubborn mountain passes—to thread the mountain trails and clamber through their rocky defiles—was challenge enough to test the most courageous spirit. Even though this were done, he would be standing but at the threshold of savage hearts, and, unless he made entry there, his battle that far would be in vain. It was an unknown country. He knew not the paths nor where to make them. He knew not where to find the mountain passes. He had yet to meet and know the climate and learn its hazards and how to overcome them. The savages were unknown—as were their habits, their traditions, and their religious fancies and beliefs. As he took in and catalogued the difficulties readily apparent on every hand—as he measured the task that lay before him—no doubt he felt the need of some good friend—one tried and true. Whom might he have selected better fitted to lend him assistance in this time of need than the good St. Joseph? Father Serra recalled, perhaps, to meditative mind, the Flight into Egypt, when having been bidden by the angel to flee, St. Joseph raised no question, but fled into the darkness of the night, out onto the lonesome, dangerous trails where before he had not trod or even dared to go. His was the duty to save the Mother and the Infant from the clutches of infamous hands. Since St. Joseph proved so successful on that occasion, why might he not now show to these good Friars the way? Why might he not now protect them as they would carry the Eucharistic Christ into unknown and unmapped areas? And so St. Joseph had been chosen the patron of Father Serra's "Spiritual Conquest of California."

How soon, indeed, would the good Saint be implored to show the power of his friendly intercession. The Mission at San Diego had been established and there was begun God's work on California's soil. Supplies and assistance were to have been sent from Mexico, but they had not arrived. The days went past and lengthened into weeks. The weeks became months and the months, too, were creeping on. Still there came no help. Food ran low and spirits drooped, especially among the soldiers. Ambition cooled and fervor showed abatement. There was also the ever-present danger from the savage red man and the stock of ammunition was slowly dwindling. They must return

to Mexico, said Portola, captain of the soldiers at the presidio. At last came the month of March and Portola became insistent upon departure. Again Father Serra pleaded and asked that departure be deferred until the Feast of St. Joseph. Portola consented and fixed the morning of March 20 as the date when they would commence the long, tedious overland journey back to Mexico. Father Serra began a novena to St. Joseph, enlisting the prayers of his group of Friars and such among the soldiers as he could induce to join.

Ah, what must have been the fervor and the earnestness of these nine days of prayer. The "California Spiritual Conquest" must not fail. To Father Serra, failure could not be. We are told that as the days of the novena passed, a constantly increasing devotion was apparent. The novena closed with the singing of a High Mass on the Feast of St. Joseph, but no relief had yet arrived. Preparations for departure had been steadily carried on by Portola and the soldiers. The next morning they would take up the dangerous trail toward Mexico and their homes. Then,—as the day was fast spending, and the sun was slowly sinking into his bed in the western sea—they saw a sail. It came as if from nowhere—hovered for a while, like some graceful fairy, far out at sea—and then it disappeared.

It was enough. Portola would wait. The expected departure was postponed indefinitely. Four days later a relief ship sailed blithely up into the harbor and was received amidst the greatest exultation.

"Was the vision of St. Joseph's day really the ship, or was it a miracle graciously vouchsafed in response to the prayers of faith? Pious Padre Palou, who recorded the details in his "Life of Serra," has no doubt about its being a case of heavenly intervention; and had you been through all that lonely little band of Spaniards underwent for the best part of a year, you, too, would doubtless join with them in giving God and St. Joseph credit. As for Serra, so great were his joy and gratitude, that he said High Mass in honor of the Patriarch on the nineteenth of each month thereafter until the end of his life."⁴

Two days prior to the establishment of San Diego Mission, Father Crespi and a newly organized band of Friars and soldiers, recruited from the two bands just reunited, had taken their departure to the north in search of Monterey, the ultimate destination of these expeditions. Out into the wide expanse of sand, on into the darkness of the unknown forests, up along the coast, they made their way. Over these long and weary miles they laid a trail where never before had the feet of white men impressed their passing form upon the virgin soil. Their only guides were the inaccurate maps and the meagre

⁴ (The California Padres and Their Missions, Chase and Saunders, page 11.)

and equally inaccurate descriptions left by Viscayno in memory of his visit paid to Monterey 167 years before.⁵ We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that Father Crespi and his companions should have wandered over the very ground, climbed the self-same hills, and gazed enraptured at the wild scenery round about the Monterey that Viscayno found, without ever suspecting for a moment that they had actually accomplished the task which had been assigned to them. They were confused and uncertain as to their whereabouts—in fact they were completely lost,—yet hopeful, and with a never-failing trust in God, they wandered on and on. One hundred and twenty miles to the north, at the end of a long and arduous journey, at the close of a wearisome day, they saw, clothed in the shimmering gauze of a colorful sunset, the now world-famed Golden Gate. As this picture of triumphant Nature, bedecked in her most gorgeous raiment, burst suddenly and unexpectedly upon their vision, I wonder if these old Franciscan Friars might not have awakened the slumbering stillness of the primeval forests with the strains of their Founder's Song to Brother Sun. Through their minds there might have passed the question: "What would St. Francis have said could he have beheld this most wonderful view?" Perhaps he would have seen, raised over this western entry to our land, a dainty arch of Triumph, fashioned by the Hand of God in that evening sky. If St. Francis, lover of Nature as he was, could have reveled in that scene, he probably would have raised his voice in an anthem of praise whose majestic rythm would have lingered in the evening air to thrill the hearts of approaching ages as his Song to Brother Sun has reached from his day down to ours. Beneath this extremely delicate arch, formed out of the seaside mists and sprayed with the sunset's molten gold, it might be that, with prophetic vision, he would have foreseen the day when the peoples of the earth would make entry into our land to drink from the refreshing depths of Freedom's fount,—and others still he would

⁵ Estevan (also called Juan) Cabrillo, date and place of birth unknown, was a Portuguese in the naval service of Spain. In 1542, he sailed up the western coast of this country as far as Oregon. On this trip he discovered Santa Catalina, the Santa Barbara channel and Monterey. He landed at the spot where San Diego now stands, giving it the name of San Miguel. (Cath. Encyc.)

Sebastian Viscayno, navigator, was born at Huelva, Spain, about 1550. He was long prominent in Mexico. In 1602-3, he successfully explored the California coast to Lat. 42 degrees North, one of his ships going on to Lat. 43 degrees North, now included in the coast of Oregon. (Universal Encyclopedia.) It was he who changed the name of San Miguel to that of San Diego, which latter name has since designated the bay which Cabrillo called San Miguel, and on whose shore the present city of San Diego stands.

have seen passing out beneath its gilded span to tell the world of the blessings that abound in a land that even then was being conceived "in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

From this beautiful view of the Golden Gate, the Friars turned to find, spread out at their feet, the tranquil, sheltered bosom of a hitherto uncharted bay. Galvez had said to them before their departure from Mexico: "If our seraphic father, Saint Francis of Assisi, would have his name to signalize some station on these shores, let him show us a good haven." "Surely," said Father Crespi and his companions, "this must be the bay of San Francisco," and thus the bay was named.⁶ Here—then—in the peace and quiet and solitude of the forest, on the shore of this beautiful bay, they would rest their wearied bodies and calm their anxious spirits with a night of sleep. Refreshed, they would retrace their steps and make report of what they had found.

Once more let me wander, for a moment, down the pathway of conjecture, and, knowing that this little band spent the night upon the shore of San Francisco Bay, I am moved to wonder if, as they were gently lulled to sleep by the dreamy, pensive melody of the rippling wavelets dancing their evening welcome to the Queen of Night, I wonder if some good angel came and led them in their dreams to show them where to build in later years at Sonoma, to the north, the Mission of San Francisco Solano, as the North Star of this old Franciscan Trail.

To follow Father Serra and his band of Friars, as they went about the task of establishing the various Missions, and made ready to do the great work which, afterward, they accomplished, would require more space than is available at present. It is enough to say that, as the years rolled by, all along this Franciscan Trail some 600 miles in length, twenty-one principal Missions were established, each an easy day's journey from its neighbor.⁷ These Missions and the

⁶ (Bancroft's Works, Vol. XXXIV, page 722.)

⁷ The twenty-one Missions of California are as follows:

San Diego (16 July, 1769), six miles from the present city of San Diego.

San Luis Rey (13 June, 1798), about 85 miles southeast of Los Angeles.

San Juan Capistrano (1 Nov., 1776), about 58 miles southeast of Los Angeles.

San Gabriel (8 Sept., 1771), about 8 miles northeast of Los Angeles.

San Fernando (8 Sept., 1797), about 22 miles northwest of Los Angeles.

San Buenaventura (31 March, 1782), about 83 miles northwest of Los Angeles.

Santa Barbara (4 Dec., 1786), at Santa Barbara.

little Spanish settlements near them prospered in such a way that this old Franciscan Trail became the pathway along which was moved a heavy traffic in produce and along which sped the agents of government bent upon affairs of state. It soon came to be known as El Camino Real,—the king's highway,—in honor of the reigning monarch. While it is true that the reigning house of Spain was much interested in the Mission work of Mexico and this great work that was going on in Alta California, yet, if it were dependent solely upon the patronage of a king that the memory of this glorious old highway should not die, the fact of its existence might soon vanish as do the names of kings. Long after the name Charles III of Spain shall have faded into the dim and indistinct past where the memories and the pens of men seldom, if ever, wander and explore, this highway will still be known to the world as the King's Highway. Ah, truly indeed, the King's Highway, for along its winding course these good and holy friars carried the Eucharistic Christ in search of souls that hitherto had known Him not. Along this highway was passing a Regal Pageant of more imposing splendor than any earthly king could summon in court procession,—this quiet progress of saintly Friars moving onward in the work of removing souls from the cold environment of barbarism. Two streams of crimson swept across this golden path to mark the spots where love and sacrifice had intertwined

Santa Inez (17 Sept., 1804), about 25 miles northwest of Santa Barbara.
 Purisima Concepcion (8 Dec., 1787), about 187 miles northwest of Los Angeles.

San Luis Obispo (1 Sept., 1772), about midway between Los Angeles and San Francisco.

San Miguel (25 July, 1797), about 273 miles northwest of Los Angeles and about 208 miles southeast of San Francisco.

San Antonio de Padua (14 July, 1771), northwest of San Miguel and about 20 miles from King's City.

Soledad (9 Oct., 1791), 4 miles from the town of Soledad.

San Carlos Carmelo (3 June, 1770), 6 miles from Monterey.

Santa Cruz (25 Sept., 1791), about 80 miles south of San Francisco.

San Juan Bautista (24 June, 1797), about straight east of Santa Cruz Mission and 6 miles from Sargent's Station.

Santa Clara (12 Jan., 1777), $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from San Jose City.

San Jose (11 June, 1797), 14 miles from San Jose City.

San Francisco (9 Oct., 1776), Sixteenth and Dolores Sts., San Francisco.

San Rafael (14 Dec., 1817), at town of San Rafael (nothing left of the Mission).

San Francisco Solano (4 July, 1823), in the town of Sonoma about 43 miles north of San Francisco.

(See Cath. Encyc. Article on the California Missions; and see "In and Out of the Old Missions," by James at page 389.)

and blended—Heaven's sublime consecration of a noble work.⁸ Countless blessings have flowed along its hallowed pavements direct from the hand of God to His Indian sons and daughters. For those who kneel in adoration before the Eucharistic Shrines, the memory and the glory and the brilliance of this highway will never dim. I fancy that as Time comes to end, and in order to save it from destruction, the Hosts of Heaven will descend, and with reverent hands lift up this trail that fell from sandaled feet and keep it forever among the treasures of Heaven in memory of a most beautiful service of men to God and as a testimony of God's love for men.

* * *

There is a wealth of romance and an infinite number of tales of intense human interest woven into the history of the Missions. They entwine their tiny tendrils round the reader's heart and hold it fast,—as the clinging ivy holds its prize. They picture the heart throbs of a savage race whose very souls were being stirred to nobler endeavors under the gentle stimulation of God's grace so abundantly bestowed upon them. The removal of this people from the desolation of savagery to the higher plane of a Christian civilization was a mighty transition that must needs touch the heart of any one who reads the tales.

I'd love to walk with you amongst the wild-flowers that now grow where once the Padres' tame flowers grew. In the fragrance of Nature's gracious tributes to the immortal works of these good men, are borne sweet memories of those incensed hours when God gave His special blessings to the Indians gathered at night-prayers within the Mission walls. I'd love to lounge beneath the trees the Padres planted, and, as the breezes wander softly through their swinging boughs, discover, in the gentle rustling of their leaves, faint echoes of the innumerable fervent *Aves* that near 200 years ago took whispered flight from underneath the Mission arches toward Heaven's Mighty Throne.

How greatly would we prize the privilege if we could take a seat in one of the old Indian hand-made Mission chairs, placed in some quiet nook at San Diego, and laugh with Father Urbano as he would slowly and humorously relate the story of his stolen umbrella.

Into what romantic reverie might we not most gracefully fall, if, on the site of San Juan Capistrano, we could hear recounted the story of the troth of Teofilo and Magdalena—the story of the troth

⁸ Two of the Mission Padres died martyrs. (See Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. III, page 182.)

of the neophyte painter and his loved one—plighted in death beneath the falling roof of that old Mission when it was crumbled into ruins by an earthquake.⁹ Such a simple thing it was that the Padre had demanded and all for Magdalena's good,—yet, there was rebellion in her heart. It was this rebellious spirit, born of pride, that must be quelled if Teofilo and she could live happily together, and, with a kindly hand Padre Josef sought to direct her into the channel of obedience. Poor Teofilo was caught in the toils of conflicting emotions: love of Padre and love of Magdalena. Must his heart be torn by conflicting loves? Could he survive the suffering? But Magdalena yielded and would perform the simple penance. Here was love and contrition and obedience blended in one simple act, rising triumphant over human impulse and human pride—rising triumphant over forces exerting every influence to prolong and strengthen disobedience. Then came the stern, relentless spell of Tragedy to lift this story of human love into the company of the classics where it might remain to more vividly portray the glory of the Padres' works. In one grave, Padre Josef buried them, for, as he said: "they were married, indeed, though in death." In the simple frescoes and in the unfinished tasks upon the Mission walls, Teofilo left the story of how freely he gave of his talents to prove his love for Holy Church. Ah, suggestive thought—he was an Indian boy.¹⁰

If it were suggested to our minds, not one of us but would hasten down the corridors of Santa Ines in search of its ancient record to read for ourselves from its soiled and Time-worn pages the story of the heroic self-sacrifice of the Indian maid Pasquala (her real name was not recorded). Over toilsome and dangerous mountain paths, requiring days and nights for this frail girl to travel, she came to warn the Padre and the Mission of impending danger. From a cruel captivity she had escaped to save the Padre who years and years before had baptized her and her dear old father and mother, long since passed to their eternal reward.

⁹ San Juan Capistrano was destroyed by an earthquake on Sunday morning, Dec. 8, 1812. Forty-three persons were killed and quite a number seriously injured. The demolition of this Mission occurred just as the Indian congregation had gathered for the six o'clock Mass. (In and Out of the Old Missions, George Wharton James, page 168; see also, Bancroft's Works, Vol. XXXIV, page 189.)

¹⁰ This Indian boy gave back to God the talents that had been given him. It would seem that we, surrounded as we are by boundless opportunity, by luxury and comfort, might well wonder whether we are making such return as we should in exchange for all that God has given us. This tale of Teofilo is a pretty story given us by Chase and Saunders in "The California Padres and Their Missions, at page 75.

The Father, who had already given her the Sacraments, was standing by her, watching the restless fingers as they played with the coverings of the bed. Unconsciously voicing his sorrowful thoughts, he murmured, half aloud:

"Alas, it was then a true name that I gave you, for you have, indeed, laid down your life for ours, my poor Pasquala."

The wandering mind of the Indian girl caught the name, and she opened her eyes, and knew him.

"Yes, Padre," she said, thinking he had spoken to arouse her.

"Pasqualita," said the priest, taking the little hand in his, "you are truly our saviour. But for your coming to warn us, the Mission would have been burned and many of us killed. The Blessed Virgin has favored you greatly. I shall put it all down in the book, so that always people will know that it was Pasquala who saved the Mission."

"Oh, Padre," she whispered, a glow of her old child-like happiness lighting up her face, "that will be fine."

Then, after a pause, she added: "Padre, will you tell me how you will put it in the book?"

"Yes, my daughter," the priest answered, "I shall write down that Pasquala came a long journey over the mountains to warn me, and that so the Mission was preserved. Is not that right?"

"Oh, yes, Padre," she replied painfully, "but will you say that it was Pasquala, the Indian girl whom you cured?"

"Surely, I will say so," said the priest.

Again there was silence, and then she whispered once more, "Padre, will you say how the Blessed Virgin came and helped Pasquala, too?"

"Be sure I will say so, my daughter," said the Father.

Seeing how rapidly the remaining sands were running out, the Father again gave her absolution and pronounced over her the last blessing; and a few hours later Pasquala's short and troubled life was ended.¹¹

Willingly she had given up her sweet young life that her Padre might be saved from death, and Santa Ines from destruction, at the hands of her extremely hostile, revengeful and ferocious tribe.

Oh, if we could have lingered beneath the arches of old Carmelo on that eventful evening in 1784 when Father Serra, even then in the throes of his last agony, knelt with placid courage in the flickering candle-light before its altar to receive the last Sacraments of the Church; if we could have witnessed the harrowing scene as, with tear-stained faces and voices choked by sobs, his sorrowful flock gathered round him so overcome that they could not join with him as he alone finished the singing of the "*Tantum Ergo*"; oh, if we could have stood in the midst of that grief-stricken people and looked out through their curtain of tears to see their dear old Padre calmly extend his hand in welcome to Sister Death, and, with a smile upon

¹¹ "The California Padres and Their Missions," Chase and Saunders, p. 192.

his aged face, bid a last farewell to friends and things of earth;¹² if we could have seen and heard these things, then you and I might be able to measure the intensity of the love those Indians had for their Padres,—perhaps we might now realize why the memories of so many joys and sorrows still linger round the ruins of the Missions.

Ah, if the dead could retell their tales; if the old Mission walls that still are standing would reveal to us the pictures of industry and peace and devotion that once they witnessed; if the roving winds would sing for us those songs of joy and contentment that once were entrusted to their care; if the simple, bashful wild-flowers would only speak and repeat to us the words of love and encouragement they so often heard exchanged between the Padres and the Indians; then might we now know how cruel were the hands of Greed—and Lust—and Passion that rent asunder those Mission walls, tearing friend from friend, and leaving not a home where homes once stood—leaving nothing in their wake save wreck and ruin—as Intolerance and Injustice always do.¹³

* * *

¹² (See "California and Its Missions," by Helen Hunt Jackson, page 36; "The Church in the United States," by John Gilmary Shea, page 344.)

¹³ "The Congress of Mexico passed, Nov. 20, 1833, a decree secularizing the Missions in California, without recognizing the rights of the Indian occupants, or making any provision for them. At this period the missions contained 30,650 Indians, who owned 424,000 head of cattle, 62,500 horses, 321,500 sheep, and who raised annually 122,500 bushels of grain, and manufactured large quantities of goods for export. The Indians were driven out and deprived of all their fields and stock, alike of the lands which belonged to them and the produce of their labor. In eight years the Indians dwindled by disease and starvation to 4,450. The Franciscan Fathers clung to their flocks as long as they could, the holy, devoted Father Sarria dying actually of starvation, in 1838, at the foot of the altar, as he was about to say Mass for the little remnant of his flock.

"The officials and their tools, who had kept up the hypocritical charge that the missionaries ill-treated the poor Indians, had no scruples in robbing priest and neophyte of their very means of supporting life and driving them to the grave." (The Church in the United States, page 348, by John Gilmary Shea.)

Another writer describes the process of secularization as follows:

"Why is it, when the Missions were doing so much good they were allowed to go to wrack and ruin? . . . In brief, here it is, and I refer my reader to my book on the Missions or the larger historical works of Hubert Howe Bancroft for a full and complete discussion of the subject. When the Missions were originally established it was the avowed intention of the King and his advisers that, after the Indians had been duly Christianized and trained by the Padres in the ways of civilization, they should be removed from under their care and given the rights of individual citizenship. This fact must not be forgotten, as it was the chief weapon in the hands of those who demoralized the Missions and argued that the Indians had been under the control of the Padres long enough.

Much has been written of the artistic merit of the Mission churches of California. Helen Hunt Jackson¹⁴ and George Wharton

“Here the question arises: How long does it take to elevate a degraded and heathen race from barbarism to Christian civilization? As far as I can learn it took several centuries to perform this miracle for the Anglo-Saxon race, and the job is not yet completed, . . . Yet the Padres—without the refining influence of good women—were expected to make the change among these California Indians in a few generations. They certainly worked wonders to accomplish what they did in so short a time, and the Mission buildings stand as a marvelous tribute to their power, for the main work upon all of them was done by these same savage Indians.

“After Mexico was severed from Spain, Santa Anna, the dictator, was short of money and he set the example to his followers by ‘borrowing’ the ‘Pious Fund’ for ‘governmental’ purposes, giving its holders in exchange certain bonds which were guaranteed to bear five per cent annual interest. The ‘Pious Fund’ consisted of real estate and other securities which had been donated by generous sons and daughters of Mother Church for the express purpose of aiding in the work of Christianizing the Indians of the Californias—Baja and Alta (Lower and Upper). Santa Anna failed to pay the interest promised, hence his borrowing became in reality a confiscation. Here was an elevated example for vulture politicians to follow. Professing to act upon the original intention of King Carlos that the Indians should become citizens, they passed bills in the national legislature of Mexico and in the provincial legislature of California authorizing the appointing of *comisionados* whose business it was to take over the temporal concerns of the Church from the Padres, partition the Mission lands among the Indians, and then invest the latter with all the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. All this sounded well in speeches on the floors of the legislative halls, but the fine sounding phrases were but intended to tickle the ears of the people, while the plunderers (modern grafters) perpetrated their nefarious schemes. Had the thing been done honestly, as it might have been, it would have required a score of years or more to carry out the plan. . . . Here was the way the scheme of secularization actually worked. The commissioner took charge of *all* the herds of cattle, *every single* head of horses, *all* the sheep, *every single acre* of land, save and except enough for a kitchen garden for the priest. He then sold the live stock, etc., and divided the proceeds among the Indians, after having apportioned to each person or family its due proportion of the land. But there was no check kept upon his sales or the prices obtained, and herds were sacrificed or simply given away in exchange for political favors, and, as soon as the Indians came into legal possession of their lands, they were hoodwinked out of them as quickly and as skillfully as the thimble riggers and the gold-brick sellers of the city swindle the countrymen.

“The moral degeneration of the Indians was even worse than their physical and material demoralization. To get the better of them they were inducted into every kind of besotting vice, and while under these damnable influences their ruin was accomplished. There is nothing more horrible in the history of all civilization than the true story of how the Indians of California were swept with the besom of destruction down the slippery road to hell.

“But, you ask, where were the Padres while this was going on? Why did they not exercise some restraining influence over their former charges?

James,¹⁵ both non-Catholic writers, have written extensively and in a very appreciative vein about the artistic design and construction of those old Mission buildings. They have joined their voices with the voices of many others in praise of the original, unique and truly

“Therein is one of the most fearful counts in the indictment against the secularizing politicians. They absolutely deprived the Padres of all lands, all herds, all sources of income. At one stroke they threw them on their own resources. The Indians were inflamed against them by demagogues who prated to them of their long slavery and bondage and who roused their basest physical passions with unlimited *aguardiente*. Without means of support of the poorest kind, what was there left to these saddened and broken-hearted men, but to acknowledge their defeat and retire from the field?

“It will be seen, therefore, that for thirteen years prior to the military invasion of California, when Fremont, Sloat, Stockton and Kearney took possession of the country for the United States, the Missions were rapidly on the decline. When the last governor, Pio Pico, saw that the overthrow of Mexican rule in California was inevitable, he hurried to make whatever advantage he could for himself by aiding in this disreputable work. Even Mission buildings were sold for a mere song, and the small acreage that had been retained for the Church was bartered away for a mess of pottage.” (Through Ramona’s Country, page 285, by James.)

“Helen Hunt Jackson’s name will be long remembered because of her delightful novel “Ramona.” While the characters she introduces and the events she relates are pure fiction, yet the story is based very largely on fact. After having read “Ramona,” the reader can do nothing better than read the explanatory volume “Through Ramona’s Country,” written by George Wharton James.

Mrs. Jackson has also left us a valuable volume known as “California and Its Missions.” This is valuable principally as a commentary upon the history of the Missions. Careful reading will disclose that she has not always been absolutely accurate in minor historical details.

¹⁵ George Wharton James, American explorer, ethnologist, lecturer and author, was born Sept. 27, 1858, at Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, England. In 1904-5 he was associate editor of *The Craftsman* and editor of *Out West*, 1912-14. He is the author of no less than 24 volumes having to do with various phases of the history of California, Colorado and Arizona and the Indian Life, industry and art in those States. Two of his works referred to in previous notes are “In and Out of the Old Missions” (1905) and “Through Ramona’s Country” (1909).

Baueroff has been frequently referred to in the preceding notes. Perusal of the opening chapters of the volume referred to will convince the reader that Baueroff was not at all disposed to entertain a too sympathetic view of things Catholic. On the contrary he seems to overlook no opportunity to mention the human frailties of those Padres who had, or who he represents to have had, such frailties. Therefore the writer has felt like citing him whenever he has spoken favorably of any of the events or individuals mentioned in the above essay, because unquestionably his comment could not exceed the limit of truth.

Far more friendly are the works of Mrs. Jackson and Mr. James, and they are typical of the sentiments expressed by a gradually enlarging group of non-Catholic authors.

beautiful lines that make of those old structures real architectural masterpieces. With an equal earnestness, they have expressed their condemnation of the Mexican Act of Secularization that, passed in 1833 and applied in 1834 and 1835, robbed the Padres of their wards—took from the Indians the best friends they ever had—that, in short, worked such havoc and spread such ruin as Time and Nature could not have accomplished in a hundred years. And then,—each of these writers, in their usual friendly way, have gently chided the Catholic people of this country because they have not prevented, when they might have prevented, the further ravages which we know the elements have wrought in these magnificent works. We can appreciate the point of view these two writers had. We know the kindly sentiment that prompted such observations. In our hearts their sad lament finds sympathetic welcome. But, there is another thought that must be borne in mind. I trust that I offend neither the memory of the one nor the living, active friendship of the other, when I say that, though her priests be made the victims of persecution and her Teaching Orders be dispersed and scattered to the four points of the compass,—even though Desecration lay his vile and destructive hand upon her altars and her stately churches be crumbled into the dust from whence they came,—the Church lives on till the end of Time as it was ordained by Christ.

As we gaze in wonder and admiration upon these historic piles of stone and adobe; while we realize that in their crumbling walls and broken arches there is ample evidence of a new and entrancing Art which should be preserved for the inspiration of coming generations; while, in some of our contemplative moods, we have seen each stone and block laid in its mortar of eternal love; yet, this we must not forget—the real—the true architectural triumphs which these good Padres achieved, and the memories of which will echo and re-echo down the never-ending reaches of Eternity, were builded by them, when, with patient hands and loving care, they moulded and remodeled the souls of countless thousands of savage Indians into those humble, modest homes where their loving Saviour might find peace and rest and quiet. They hung on the latch-strings of those unlettered souls daily invitations to the Son of God asking Him to come and sit in the warmth and glow and comfort of contrite hearts and asking Him to give, as He ever does to such good hearts, His choicest blessings in exchange for their loyal and devoted service.

Oh, ye walls of stone and adobe,—better far it be that ye should crumble into everlasting ruin and decay; that your pealing bells should tumble mute and speechless to the ground; that your lofty,

noble arches and your graceful, sweeping lines of beauty should melt into merest nothing than that ye be preserved, if, to have been preserved would mean that your beautiful contour should ever dim the eyes or chill the hearts of coming generations to what in truth is the Will of God or turn them from a proper appreciation of the lively faith and the warmth of zeal and the ever-active spirit of self-sacrifice so constantly displayed by your heroic builders. They who built you were the Padres of the Missions. They raised you out of California's soil; they shaped you into structures of surpassing beauty; they draped you with a regal splendor; all this they did that they might the more readily lead thousands upon thousands of Indian men and women and children down the King's Highway to an intimate knowledge and a fitting service of the One, True God.

Monmouth, Illinois.

JOHN J. RYAN.

INTERESTING FACTS CONCERNING CHICAGO'S FIRST FOUR BISHOPS

The diocese of Chicago which has now attained a world-wide reputation for outward greatness and inward strength, was singularly unfortunate in its first four bishops. Not that there was anything disorderly in their character or blameworthy in their administration. On the contrary, all four were excellent men and priests, talented to a marked degree and animated by the purest motives. Yet, they did not attain the great things their friends had confidently expected of them. Their efforts for good in Chicago were failures: but, for the most part, not through any fault of their own.

Bishop William Quarter died within a little more than four years of his episcopate.

Bishop James Oliver Van de Velde resigned his charge of the diocese within a little more than four years of his administration.

Bishop Anthony O'Regan cast off the burden within four years, less one month, after his consecration.

And Bishop James Duggan, though holding the title of Bishop of Chicago for more than forty years, was within four years of his appointment, afflicted with a derangement of the mind, that in 1869 made his removal to an asylum a necessity, and from which he never recovered.

It cannot be my purpose to discuss the vicissitudes of the diocese of Chicago during the brief period of its first four Bishops. I would but investigate at the hand of a very important, though privately printed, collection of Letters, some of the circumstances of the appointment and premature breakdown of these prelates.

The information to be submitted here is derived from the "Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence," containing letters chiefly of Francis Patrick Kenrick, selected from the Cathedral Archives of Philadelphia, and translated from the Latin, arranged and annotated by F. E. T., Philadelphia, 1920. The editor of the book is F. E. Tourcher, a noted contributor to the Philadelphia "Records." The letters are certainly authentic and correctly translated: the annotations generally hit the point. The collection may be divided into two parts, the first of which contains the letters written by various persons to Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, and the second part, the letters written by Francis Patrick Kenrick to his brother Peter Richard of St. Louis. It is a

pity that Bishop Peter Richard's part of the correspondence was lost forever or, at least, never found; yet the letters of Francis Patrick, like an ancient palimpsest, under proper treatment, reveal to the student the underlying impressions which Peter Richard's thought and sentiment made on the receptive mind of the writer. Or, to use another image, they are the mold into which all that was uppermost in the minds of the two Kenricks was cast for mutual help and edification.

The references to ecclesiastical events are not very numerous and perhaps, not highly important. Yet they are sidelights, thrown by stars of the first magnitude in the Church upon the life of some of their distinguished contemporaries.

William Quarter, the first Bishop of Chicago, was a native of King's County, Ireland, came to America in 1822, entered Mount St. Mary's Seminary at Baltimore, and, after completing the course in theology, was ordained September 4, 1829. In 1844 on the tenth day of March, he, in company with the Coadjutor of New York, John McCloskey, and Andrew Byrne, the Bishop of Little Rock, was consecrated by Bishop John Hughes in the Cathedral of New York. The following passage of a letter from the Bishop Elect of Chicago to the Bishop of Philadelphia has reference to this event:

“My heart has prompted me often to write to you, since I had word of my appointment to the Episcopacy, to which dignity I unaffectedly acknowledge my great unworthiness to approach; but so often did my resolution fail, and I laid by my pen, thinking that probably it would not ultimately happen—but it appears it is so; and I can only say: ‘May the Holy Will of God be done.’”¹

Full of buoyant hope the Bishop set out for his see in the Far West. On May 25, 1844, he informed Bishop Kenrick of his arrival in Chicago:

“On Sunday morning, the fifth of May, my brother and myself arrived here. I said an early Mass, and preached at 10½ o’cl (ock). The congregation is pretty large. I suppose it numbers about 3,000, composed of Germans and Irish. The church is not finished. All the inside work remains to be done. The altar and sanctuary are only a temporary construction. During the week one of the daily papers announced my arrival, and also that I’d preach on the following Sunday. The day came, and the church was crowded to overflowing. On Ascension Thursday I conferred the holy order of Subdeaconship on Messrs. Pat McMahon and Bernard McGorisk, and at half past 10 o’cl (ock) Mass (yesterday) I ordained them Deacons. On next Friday I purpose to raise them to the dignity of the Priesthood. The second week after my arrival I called a meeting of the congregation to take steps towards raising some funds to finish the church. We divided the city into districts, appointed collectors, and so far the work goes on harmoniously and successfully. I published also to the congregation,

¹ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 80.

that we would commence a College for the education of boys about the first of June. The clergymen that are here, together with those I have ordained, will have charge of it, and also of the Seminary.”

The eastern portion of the diocese of Chicago had until this time been a part of the diocese of Vincennes, whilst the western portion had formed an integral part of the Arch-diocese of St. Louis. In regard to the priests that had been attending the parishes and missions of Illinois, Bishop Quarter has this to say:

“De la Hailandiere of Vincennes recalled the clergymen he had here and in this vicinity before my arrival. They did not go, nor are they willing to go to him. He withdrew their faculties. I have written to him, but have not as yet received an answer.”²

“Your brother (Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis) acted a noble, generous, fraternal part. A letter from him was awaiting me, telling me that any of his clergymen in this diocese had his permission to remain or return. He granted them six months to decide, and after the decision, if they were returning, one year to remain in their present missions.”³

Bishop Quarter, nothing daunted by this stroke of adversity, set to work valiantly to organize the new diocese. At the Synod, April, 1847, there were thirty-two priests in attendance. He began building a cathedral and a Seminary, and filled out his spare hours and days with preaching and mission work. On April 10, 1848, death overtook the zealous and able prelate, in the midst of his work. “The news of the death of the Bishop of Chicago,” wrote Bishop Francis Patrick, “has been a great shock to everyone. I suppose that he did not name anyone to be representative head of the diocese during the vacancy of the see, or designate the names of men (whom he considered fit), of whom one should be chosen as his successor, for it appears that there were no indications of approaching death. But I trust that the Archbishop of Baltimore will make some provision, so that the diocese may not suffer.”⁴

The choice of Rome for the succession to Bishop Quarter was the Provincial of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus, James Oliver Van de Velde. The autobiographical sketch recently published in the *ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*,⁵ by Father Garraghan, on the Life and Labors of the Right Rev. James Oliver Van de Velde is so clear, concise and consonant with established facts, that there would not seem to be any need of further comment or elucidation. Yet, as the Bishop was a very important figure in his day, and as his

² Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 83.

³ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 83.

⁴ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 271.

premature resignation of the diocese entrusted to his care not only surprised his friends and wellwishers, but also gave occasion to genuine heart-burnings and serious disturbances, it may be of interest to sum up the various expressions of opinion and statements of pertinent facts, as contained in the letters of Francis Patrick Kenrick of Philadelphia and Baltimore to his dear brother, Peter Richard, the Archbishop of St. Louis. The first mention of James Oliver Van de Velde, as a proper person for the widowed diocese of Chicago occurs in a letter dated "The Feast of the Ascension, 1847" and is addressed "To the Archbishop Elect of St. Louis, the Bishop of Philadelphia. Greetings."

"I understand from the letter of the Archbishop of Baltimore (Samuel Eleclston) who the priests are whom he has recommended to the Holy See. But I will tell you frankly what I think on the subject. I consider James Van de Velde as worthy of the first choice on account of the natural gifts and qualities of the man, and I think that his promotion is to be urged, even by the Pope's instruction, at this time particularly, in order to give this testimonial of the American Bishops in favor of the Society of Jesus so much vexed and harassed."⁶

On June 1, the Bishop of Philadelphia returns to the subject:

"In the meantime I am praying for the appointment of Father Van de Veldo as Bishop of Chicago; for aside from his good moral life he has piety, and he knows languages, German also (as I think), in which case he will be acceptable to the people of his own tongue."⁶

Towards the end of 1848 the news arrived that Father Van de Velde, S. J., had been nominated Bishop of Chicago. In the beginning of December the Brief "freeing him from allegiance to the Society of Jesus and appointing him to the vacant see of Chicago" was placed in his hands. The humble Jesuit was reluctant to accept; but on being assured by Archbishop Kenrick that the Pope's words implied a command, Bishop Van de Velde submitted himself to the will of the Holy Father. He was consecrated by Archbishop Kenrick in the College Church at St. Louis, on ebruary 11, 1849.

Bishop Van de Velde entered upon his new and grave duties, but he soon found them too onerous and disagreeable for a man of his shattered health and peace-loving disposition. He resigned. The Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda, Cardinal Franson, wrote him a letter of encouragement and high appreciation. The Bishop then dispatched a second letter to Rome, tendering his unqualified resignation. The Sacred Congregation referred the matter

⁶ ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. IX, No. 1, p. 56ss.

⁶ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 277.

to the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, which assembled at Baltimore in May, 1852. But instead of accepting the Bishop's resignation, the Fathers of the Council agreed to divide Illinois into two dioceses and to make Quincy the see of the southern portion. Bishop Van de Velde now offered to accept Quincy, but was refused. It was then that the Bishop decided to go to Rome in person. Concerning this matter Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, now archbishop of Baltimore, wrote on the Vigil of Christmas, 1851:

"The Bishop of Chicago thinks there should be a new see established in the lower part of the State of Illinois."⁷

From this it would appear that Bishop Van de Velde had no objection to the dismemberment of his diocese; yet he may have consented to it mainly in the hope of getting rid of Chicago.

In the meantime the Archbishop of St. Louis was beginning to feel the weight of years and looking around for an available coadjutor. The thought of selecting the Bishop of Chicago for this office may have been in his mind at that time, 1852. That it was in the mind of Bishop Van de Velde seems quite probable from what he states about his first interview with Pius IX: "The Holy Father seems inclined to either accept his (Van de Velde's) resignation, or at least to make him coadjutor, or Auxiliary Bishop to some other Prelate."

No name of any prelate seeking a coadjutor is mentioned here: yet the probabilities point to Archbishop Kenrick.

On November 24, 1851, Francis Patrick Kenrick had tried to dissuade his brother from taking a coadjutor, and more particularly, one that offered his services:

"There are many inconveniences connected with the assistance offered by a coadjutor, so that a Bishop may hardly be said to govern his diocese, once a coadjutor has been appointed—I believe moreover, that one who has offered himself of his own accord should never be appointed."⁸

So far it has become clear that Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis had asked for a coadjutor, and that Bishop Van de Velde had asked the Pope among other things to appoint him coadjutor to some American Prelate. That the two lines of action had a bearing on the same coadjutorship, becomes clearer from what the Archbishop of Baltimore wrote to his brother on the Feast of the Holy Name, 1852:

"As to the question of a coadjutor, I cannot approve the plan of choosing one who is bound already to another see, just because he wishes to get away

⁷ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 321.

⁸ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 328.

from the burden of its care. I think therefore that there should be absolutely no yielding to the aims of such a Bishop. But if you wish to make the request to have him named as your successor, in the event of any misfortune to you, I shall not oppose such a measure. The Holy See, I think, would permit him, while retaining the government of his own see, to hold the title of Coadjutor (to St. Louis) with the right of succession."⁹

But the Archbishop of Baltimore was plainly not in favor of such a move. As open resistance, however, was out of question, he sought to gain time and the support of others. For in the same letter he said: "I think you ought not to make known your plans to the Bishop of Chicago, until the whole affair can be made the subject of deliberation here (in the Council)."¹⁰

On October 20, 1852, the Archbishop of Baltimore sent a lengthy exposition of the new turn of affairs to his brother of St. Louis:

"You have learned that our plan did not succeed, as I think: and the Bishop of Chicago is now on his way to return to his see. The Bishop of Pittsburgh thinks that he is confident of your requesting him as coadjutor: but the Bishop of Chicago declared to the S. Congregation and to me that he would be willing to undertake the government of the District of Columbia together with the southern counties (of Maryland) under the title of Vicar Apostolic, if it were so determined. This indeed does not seem to me to be quite the right arrangement. It remains for you to decide whether it would be a better plan to ask for his appointment as your coadjutor. To find a successor (for Chicago) will be another big problem. At the suggestion of the Bishop of Pittsburgh the Bishop of Chicago recommended Edward Purcell, to whom he knew that the S. Congregation was unfavorable. My letter also written on the complaint of the Bishop of Charleston was a bar (to the recommendation), more especially because the Bishop of Pittsburgh (in his letter) spoke as representing me. Now he (the Bishop of Pittsburgh) asks me to tell the S. Congregation that I am not opposed (to Purcell), also to have you write (to Rome) *in favor of* Edward (Purcell). He thinks that this (appointment) would put an end to discord, which, in the event of another (appointment) will, he believes, end in schism. I wish you to use your own judgment in this case.

"As to the Diocese of Quincy, the priest Obermeyer is hardly the man for the place, as I see it. Though his moral life is without blame, and he is quite a stranger to the vice of money greed, he is yet a little severe, and too much attached to his own opinion. Your own Vicar General (Joseph Melcher) would, in my opinion, be preferable, though I am not unmindful that, in your judgment, he has no administrative ability.

"The Bishop of Chicago was opposed to the choice of George Carrell as Bishop of Covington. David Deparcq, who was the second choice, worn with labors and years, hardly has the qualities to be desired in a bishop. Louis Senez is mentioned by the Bishop of Chicago for the see of Natchez. If this should be done, there is hardly one left for the Vicariate Apostolic of Florida; for the

⁹ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 325.

¹⁰ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 326.

Superiors of both candidates who have been recommended, request that neither one of them be appointed. Perhaps it would be well to give this post (Florida) to Edward Barron. It would be a tribute of honor to his good life, and provide means of support, for he is working in Columbus as a parish priest, and it is probable that he will suffer financial loss."¹¹

This letter proves beyond a doubt that the Archbishop of St. Louis had serious thoughts of asking for Bishop Van de Velde as his coadjutor, and that Bishop Van de Velde had some sort of an understanding on the matter with the Archbishop of St. Louis. It follows, therefore that the Bishop, whom the Archbishop of Baltimore represents as offering his services to Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis as his coadjutor, was no one else but Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago. On November 18, 1852, Francis Patrick of Baltimore wrote to Peter Richard of St. Louis:

"I think the (present) Bishop of Chicago should be transferred to the see of Natchez or Natchitoches. But by no means to be made coadjutor. He lacks good judgment."¹²

In the meantime the resignation of Bishop Van de Velde was accepted in Rome, and the Metropolitan of St. Louis was requested to send in three names for the diocese of Chicago. For on December 14, 1852, the Archbishop of Baltimore writes:

"In reference to the choice of candidates for the see of Chicago I have nothing in writing; but the Bishop of Pittsburgh, and the Bishop of Chicago, both have told me that this is the wish of the S. Congregation. If the Bishop of Chicago is transferred to Natchez, which appears to me to be much desired, then William Elder, John Loughlin, Patrick Reilly, of Wilmington, might be proposed."¹³

As the Metropolitan of St. Louis hesitates to send his terna, his brother urges him on, saying:

"The Bishop of Pittsburgh thinks you ought to present the names; as the Bishop of Chicago, by the very fact of resigning the see, is hardly the one to make provision for its future government. As William Elder and Josue Young are already recommended for other sees, it would not be the proper thing to name them. Anthony O'Regan is one worthy of recommendation."¹⁴

Anthony O'Regan was at that time President of the Diocesan Seminary of St. Louis. He was placed on the list as first choice. But Bishop Van de Velde seems to have resented the action of the two Kenricks. In his letter of January 18, 1853, the Archbishop of Balti-

¹¹ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, pp. 335 and 336.

¹² Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 340.

¹³ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 342.

¹⁴ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 347.

more rather angrily animadvert upon the course pursued by Bishop Van de Velde:

“The man from Chicago has unsettled everything, stating that the Archbishops arrange things just as they choose: that they determined upon the erection of this new diocese (Quincy) without consulting him, and recommended priests (to head the new see) without his knowledge. He moreover proposes Alton as better deserving (the honor of an episcopal city): and he also expresses the wish to have a Vicar Apostolic (for the district) with no city determined (as the seat of episcopal government), leaving it to the Vicar’s judgment and experience to choose his own cathedral city.”¹⁵

No doubt, Bishop Van de Velde’s suggestions were wise. In fact, Alton did become the episcopal city, only to lose the honor, after three administrations, to the capital of the State, Springfield. Yet, as we have seen, Bishop Van de Velde had favored Quincy at the time of the Baltimore Council, and the Archbishop of St. Louis, as Metropolitan was fully within his competence in recommending candidates for Quincy as well as Chicago.

It seems the case of Bishop Van de Velde was still undecided at Rome.

“We ought, I think, not too readily depart from what has been done in the Council and approved. It is my judgment, that the Bishop of Chicago should be transferred to another see, preferably to Natchez. But if the Holy See does not approve this, then Joseph Melcher appears to me the most worthy of those recommended (for Natchez).”¹⁶

Joseph Melcher was then the Vicar General of St. Louis for the German portion of the Archdiocese.

As Bishop Van de Velde was transferred to Natchez on July 29, 1853, the question of filling the sees of Chicago and Quincy took on new interest.

“I am sending you documents from Rome,” wrote Francis Patrick on September 10, “from which you will understand that the case of the Bishop of Chicago will be up for another consideration. They whom you recommended, had, it appears, no weight.”¹⁷

And again on October 17 he writes:

“I believe that Anthony O’Regan is the best choice. There is nothing against him but a weak voice. I fear however, that the S. Congregation will go slow (in the appointment of O’Regan), by reason of the complaints made against the Irish.”¹⁸

¹⁵ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, pp. 347ss.

¹⁶ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 348.

¹⁷ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 355.

¹⁸ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 356.

It would follow from these indications that the favorite candidate for the diocese of Chicago was Anthony O'Regan, and for that of Quincy, Joseph Melcher. Both of them were unwilling to accept the burden. Yet both were favored by Rome. Some opposition to them must, however, have been at work, as the appointment was delayed so long. An administrator, at least, was needed at Chicago to keep matters from going from bad to worse. On July 23, 1853, Joseph Melcher was appointed Bishop of Quincy and Administrator of Chicago, but he declined to accept the double burden: Hence Francis Patrick complains on October 17, 1853:

"I am at a loss to know why you did not prevail upon Joseph Melcher to accept the burden, or at least to undertake the administration of Chicago, until the Holy See gives further orders. My mind is, that he ought to be made to accept the see of Quincy. I wish, however, to know what you think of it."¹⁹

Still, Father Melcher remained obdurate. He might have accepted Quincy, but Chicago, never. Our Baltimore Prelate wrote October 20, 1853:

"As you believe it not advisable to urge Joseph Melcher too much, my mind turns to Leonard Ambrose Obermeyer, as a name to be recommended, against whom there is no objection, but his unbending rigor in habits of thought and unyielding firmness in holding to his own judgment. But I fear that he would reject an honor, that had been first offered to another. You may now ask for a coadjutor, if you know one fitted for the office."²⁰

It was now that Archbishop Peter Richard made a change in the terna he had submitted to Rome for Chicago, upon which his brother animadverted as follows, on December 30, 1853:

"I am sorry to see that you have changed your choice of candidates. Anthony O'Regan has qualities for a Bishop. He should have retained the place of first choice."²¹

Still, Anthony O'Regan received the appointment for Chicago; yet like Joseph Melcher, declined the honor.

"I am sorry," wrote Francis Patrick on March 14, 1854, "that Anthony O'Regan refuses to bear the burden. I think that you ought to send James Duggan to the city of Chicago without delay, giving him the title and the authority of Administrator in accordance with the Pope's brief, of which I hope you have received a copy."²²

¹⁹ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 357.

²⁰ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 358.

²¹ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 362.

²² Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 364.

The Archbishop of St. Louis accordingly sent James Duggan, his Vicar General, to Chicago as Administrator of the diocese.

"I confidently expect," wrote Francis Patrick, "that the Holy See will soon name a Bishop for Chicago, and prevent further evils by longer delay."²³

Bishop Elect Anthony O'Regan yielded at last to the persuasions and remonstrances of his friends, and allowed himself to be consecrated on July 25, 1854, in the Cathedral of St. Louis. At Chicago, he also assumed the administration of what was set apart for the new diocese of Quincy. This arrangement continued until January 9, 1857, when the city of Alton became the see, instead of Quincy, and received its first Bishop in the person of Henry Damian Juncker.

Now the question of a coadjutor for St. Louis demanded a solution. Here is what Francis Patrick wrote on Palm Sunday, 1854:

"The Bishop of Buffalo (Timon) thinks as I do, that you ought not to ask for a coadjutor: for usually he (a coadjutor) is more in the way of a bar, than a help, and readily offends in the reverence due to a Bishop. However, if you will not give up your design, then choose one whom you know well, and who is in disposition not out of harmony with yourself. Do not, in a choice of such moment, trust to the recommendations of others. It will have a bearing on the peace and tranquility of all that remains to you of the years of life."²⁴

Archbishop Kenrick, on January 9, 1857, received what he had so persistently sought: Father James Duggan was appointed as coadjutor, and consecrated by him under the title of Bishop of Antigone, May 3, 1857. His satisfaction, however, was not to be of long duration. The Bishop of Chicago, Anthony O'Regan, left no stone unturned to effect his release from what had proved to be an unbearable burden. Both the Kenricks begged him to be patient and to await better times, yet all in vain. It was, therefore, the part of prudence to prepare for the emergency.

"I advise you therefore," wrote Francis Patrick to his brother, on May 9, 1858, "if you get news of the resignation of the Bishop of Chicago, to call a Provincial Synod at once, to present names of priests for the see, and to consider other problems, things needful and fitting. . . . If you recommend priests of known good qualities and put together a few simple and clear decrees, the Holy See will approve with very little delay. This matter is urgent, so as not to let the diocese of Chicago go headlong to ruin."²⁵

The Provincial Council, the second and last one ever held in St. Louis, was convened in the month of December, 1858, about two

²³ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 365.

²⁴ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 368.

²⁵ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 412.

months after Bishop O'Regan's resignation had been accepted. The Coadjutor-Bishop of St. Louis, James Duggan, attended it in his quality of Administrator of Chicago. His name was placed before Rome in the usual terna, and in due time he was nominated Bishop of the Diocese of Northern Illinois. Archbishop Francis Patrick wrote on July 4, 1858:

"I hope that your Coadjutor may get things in order soon in Chicago. All good men are deploring the wounds of that church. While the see is vacant, these wounds are readily made to bleed again."²⁶

What was the outcome of his administration, is well known to all students of the history of the Church in America.

These few hints as to the secret springs of action and the intertwining play of likes and dislikes, of enthusiasms and discouragements, of noble sternness and yielding grace, reveal to us, if we did not realize it before, that our best and greatest were human, as well as we; but of a humanity that rested for its strength and nobility upon the living principles of their Christian Faith, which had become one with their character and inseparable from it. And as the failings of human nature do not destroy, or even obscure, the nobleness of the character which they beset, so these human, perhaps all too human, manifestations can in no wise affect the beauty of holiness of the Church which the Savior himself holds, as the Apostle of the Gentiles, says,

*"Ecclesiam sibi acceptabilem,
non habentem maculam aut rugam."*²⁷

St. Louis.

JOHN ROTHENSTEINER.

²⁶ Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, p. 469.

²⁷ Ephesians 5: 17.

IN THE CLUTCHES OF THE BARBARY CORSAIRS

One of the most humiliating and embarrassing situations that confronted our infant republic after the American Revolution, was the insolence and barbarity exhibited by a nest of outlawed kingdoms on the north coast of Africa. It was exasperating to the statesmen of our young nation, because the United States had not a single sea-worthy ship in its navy, nor was the country financially able to afford protection to its citizens' rights, and hence we were forced for some years to endure the mortification of paying tribute.

The merchant ships of every nation stood in constant danger of treacherous attacks from these ravaging, wolfish, African pirates. One is forced to recall the chivalrous days of the Knights of Malta or St. John, whose chief duty by sea and by land, as courageous Chevaliers of the Cross, was to protect Christendom against the terrific onslaughts and the horrible scourges of these hungry and filthy desperadoes.

Every nation that had trade in the Mediterranean was obliged frequently to expend large sums of money, or they would incur the enmity of the Barbary sovereigns, who would seize cargoes, capture defenseless crews, and place them in slavery. For centuries swarms of these corsairs had infested the Mediterranean Sea. No merchant vessel was safe from their ravages after it passed the Pillars of Hercules. It seems strange that no European nations, nor even England alone, who regarded herself as mistress of the seas, were in a position to put an end to the encroachments, that kept all vessels plying these waters in constant dread of piratical attacks. The monarchs along the Barbary Coast were in fact the real masters of the Mediterranean, and no nation could sail this inland sea without a treaty of peace, or at least a document of approval, and the periodic exaction of tribute.

In 1788 France agreed for a period of fifty years to pay two hundred thousand dollars annually to Algiers. Spain enriched that same country's treasury by contributing between three and five million dollars. Proud England, it is thought, was at this same time presenting an annual gift to the Emperor of Morocco of nearly three hundred thousand dollars so as to avoid annoyance.

After the Declaration of Independence, America lost the protection and support of the mother country, and having no longer any safeguards to our commerce, our diplomats endeavored to negotiate for a

treaty with France, but failed. King Louis XVI, however, had promised in 1778 "to employ his good offices and interposition in order to provide as fully and as efficaciously as possible for the benefit, conveniency, and safety of the United States against the princes and the States of Barbary or their subjects."

In 1785 direct negotiations were opened, when John Adams visited the ambassador of Tripoli, who presented to the American envoy the following announcement: "Turkey, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco are the sovereigns of the Mediterranean; no nation can navigate that sea without a treaty of peace with them." The ultimatum to the United States demanded thirty thousand guineas and a personal compensation of nearly fifteen thousand dollars in his capacity as agent. To secure peace with all these states, over one million dollars were necessary, which the United States could ill afford, as Congress had only appropriated eighty thousand dollars for this purpose. Other attempts to reach an agreement with the Emperor of Morocco and the Dey of Algiers came to nothing. This country was placed in the awkward predicament, which daily became more and more embarrassing, as action by the government was delayed. Finally, the unreasonable attitude of the Barbary States made itself strikingly manifest by open and brazen acts of hostility to American shipping and commerce. Seizures of goods, painful captivity of crews, and prolonged slavery of American citizens were the shameful results.

Warning of the movements of some vessels of Algiers on an expedition of piracy, was contained in a letter from a gentleman in Bilboa to a merchant at Cape Ann dated August 10, 1785. It reads as follows:

"We find that five Algerine privateers (now at peace with us) have stationed their cruise from Cape St. Vincent to Cape St. Mary; therefore please to advertise in the newspapers this disagreeable circumstance, that the masters bound for this port may avoid those pirates, by altering their navigation to the northward of Cape Ortegall."

During the month of August information came to hand that war had been declared against the United States. A letter from L'Orient dated August 5, 1785, states:

"We heard a few days ago that the Algerines have declared war against the United States of America; the enclosed translation is a faithful copy of an authentic letter wrote to our Consuls on that subject, and by them communicated to us. Please to advise thereof any of your friends concerned in the shipping trade. We do not

doubt Congress will soon adopt some vigorous measure to quell those troublesome pirates.”

Then follows a copy of a letter from the Consul of Nantz to the Consul of L'Orient:

“Gentlemen: We annex to this the copy of a letter that we have just received from M. de Soulange, by which he informs us that the Algerines have declared war against the United States of America, and that they are fitting out eight ships to take the American vessels. We request of you, Gentlemen, to impart this knowledge to the captains of that nation who may now be in your harbor, in order for them to take some measures as to avoid falling into the hands of those pirates.

“We have the honor to be, etc.”

M. de Soulange replied to the Consul at Nantz by letter dated at Toulon July 14, 1785:

“Gentlemen: Commodore de Ligonde who arrived from Algiers, on board the *Minerva* frigate of which he has the command, has brought me intelligence that said State was fitting out eight ships, both xebecs and barques, from eighteen to thirty-six guns, designed to cruise from Cape St. Vincent to the Western Islands, in order to take the Americans, against whom they have declared war. I sent you immediate advice thereof, gentlemen, both for your own interest and to request you will instantly give advice to the American captains.

“The Algerines have another division of four vessels but too small to occasion any uneasiness.

“I am, etc.”

About two weeks after these warnings, August 27, 1785, Mr. Richard Harrison, Consul for the United States at Cadiz, received the following letter from three American captains, forwarded to him by the British Consul:

“Sir: We, the subjects of the United States of America, have had the misfortune to be captured by the Algerines, and brought into this port, and made slaves of; we were stripped of all wearing apparel, and brought to a state of bondage and misery. The severities we endure are beyond your imagination. The British Consul, Charles Logil, Esq., has taken us to his house. We hope you will take our grievances into consideration, and make some extra provision for us; for no man can exist on the provisions which are dealt out by the King of this place, who may truly be called the King of Cruelties. Inform Congress and the different states of our situation. All nations, who have subjects in the hands of those infidels, exert themselves to relieve them—and white captives make them some extra allowance. We hope you will write to the British Consul on this head, he will give you every information respecting us, and how matters may be accommodated with America. If we do not make some terms, our trade will be ruined. The Algerines are at present fitting out cruisers with all possible expedition. Two will cruise off the Western Isles, and the rest off Portugal.

“*Americans beware!* lest nothing tempt you to come in the way of these people, for they are worse than can be imagined. The ship *Dauphin*, Richard Obryan, commander, belonging to Messrs. Matthew and Thomas Irwin of Philadelphia, was taken on the thirtieth of July, eight leagues to the Northwest of St. Ubes, and the schooner *Maria*, Richard Stephens, master, owned by Messrs. William Foster & Co. of Boston, and consigned to you at Cadiz, was taken on the twenty-fourth of July. We Americans were twenty-one in number. Captain Obryan’s crew were sent to the marine, where they experience all the misery of slavery. Captain Stephen’s crew are at the King’s house.

“The Spaniards have made peace with those people; in consequence of which, they will be all over the Atlantic. They talk of ransoming us as high as from four hundred pounds to six hundred pound sterling. However you, perhaps, may know our price, and the customs of these heathens in that particular, better than we do.

“We hope you will write to Charles Logil, Esq., and to us miserable sufferers, and advertise our situation to our brethren in America.

“RICHARD OBRYAN,
ISAAC STEPHENS,
ZACCARIAH COFFIN.”

After the captives had been taken, fuller information came to hand from Malaga “that a settee of three masts had arrived there about the sixth of January last from Algiers; the captain of which, Robert Norrie, reports that he had frequently been in company with the American slaves—that the captains lodge with a Genoese watchmaker, and have a table to themselves, though a small iron ring is fixed on one of their legs to denote that they are held in slavery. The sailors have been taught and are obliged to work at the various trades of carpenter, joiner, blacksmith, stone-mason, and sail-maker, from six o’clock in the morning till four o’clock in the afternoon, without intermission, except half an hour that is allowed them at dinner time—each man’s allowance per day is two small loaves of bread, which weigh about fifteen ounces. The Spanish Consul, from a principle of humanity, pays to each also four pence sterling per day. A common rug or blanket is given them to wrap themselves up in when they go to rest—but they are in daily expectation of being relieved by their countrymen. When favors are to be granted, preference is given to the Americans by the General of Marine, or the general who commands all the slaves. The boys act as servants and waiters to the Dey, and are clothed in livery. The captains are paroled by the Spanish Consul, who in case of an escape, has generously bound himself in the penalty of five hundred and sixty pounds sterling.

“The following account of their treatment, together with a list of the American slaves at Algiers, was communicated at Malaga by John Lagerhalm, in the month of September, 1786. (This Lagerholm, it seems, was mate of the brig *Betsy*, Captain Irvin, of Philadelphia, taken in October 1784 by a cruiser belong-

ing to the Emperor of Morocco, and cleared by the Swedish Ambassador on July 1, 1785, and now commands a vessel in the Mediterranean, manned with Algerines, and partly owned by a merchant in Gibraltar.)

“The captains live in a French house, and are well used—the people work very hard, and remain at nights in a house prepared for them and all other slaves, which is well guarded. The latter wear an iron ring about their leg—the former are well clothed, and wear likewise an iron about their legs, but much smaller than the others.

“The ship *Dolphin* of Philadelphia was taken by an Algerine cruiser, on the third of July, 1786, and the crew carried into slavery on the fourteenth of the same month. Richard Obryan, master; Andrew Montgomery, mate; Charles Caldwell, carpenter, six foremast men and a boy. Passengers aboard the above ship, Captain Isaiah Coffin, William Patterson, a cooper; Miller, a sailor; James Hull, a boy. Taken on board the schooner *Maria* of Boston: Isaac Stephens, master; Alexander Foresight, mate; four men before the mast whose names are not recollected.

“What, observes the correspondent, must be the feelings of those unfortunate Americans, when they shall be informed that the very hands from which they so anxiously expect relief, have ever since the peace been employed in equipping vessels, armed with the instruments of death, and loaded, among their other articles, with the *badges* and *insignias* of slavery, to deprive the poor, unhappy Africans of their liberty? Blush O ye *Bostonians* and *Pennsylvanians* for your degenerate sons, who have thus embarked in this monstrous and abominable trade and traffic! Blush also for yourselves, because you have long beheld the wicked practice, without making the least effort to prevent it. There is no difference between *permitting* it to be done in your harbors and the actual *doing* it yourselves. The equipment of vessels, in your own ports, by your own subjects, for the open and avowed purpose of enslaving their fellow men, bears ample proof of your sanction and approbation, and the stigma will be fixed on you as a people, not on the individuals who are immediately engaged in the business for pecuniary motives.”

The Americans were not the only people who were ill-treated by the corsairs. We have evidence that every nation had reason for alarm, for these pirates respected no flag except the British. Information from persons in neighboring ports showed that the plundering activities were intensified towards the close of 1785. A letter from Gibraltar dated Nov. 1, 1785, states:

“We have accounts from Algiers by a Dutch sloop, lately arrived in the Bay, that the Dey, notwithstanding the truce concluded with the Spaniards, is equipping the largest naval force ever sent into the Mediterranean by any of the Barbary powers; they talk of twenty ships from forty-four to thirty guns, exclusive of others, but for what purpose is uncertain, though their old trade of *marauding* is doubtless the chief.”

Another letter from Gibraltar, dated November 14, shows by concrete examples that the intention of piracy prompted these Algerine desperadoes:

“The Mediterranean swarms with Algerine Corsairs, who are now become very alarming to the nations bordering on those seas, as they pay no regard to the flag of any country, but take and plunder vessels of every nation that fall in their way, except the British, to whom they are partial. They have very lately captured several ships belonging to the Portuguese, who have turned out very valuable prizes to them; they have also taken a large ship from Cadiz to Carthage, loaded with all kinds of naval stores, and sent the crew into slavery. This capture causes great uneasiness amongst the Spanish merchants, who are now obliged to have convoys with ships of a considerable value, notwithstanding the peace so lately concluded between that Kingdom and the Dey of Algiers.”

An episode that occurred at Madeira is related by Lamar, Hill, Bisset & Co., of that place, to a merchant in Philadelphia. The letter, dated September 5, 1785, states:

“Yesterday morning a Moorish cruiser anchored in this road, and saluted the fort with two guns; she seems to be full of men, and carries about ten guns. The captain and some officers waited on the Governor, who gave them a polite invitation. While they were sitting at the Governor’s table, the brig *Richmond* came to anchor before the castle windows, and hoisted the American colors.

“R. L. Bisset, who was present, observed the Moor’s eye fixed on that object with solicitude in his countenance, and that the manner of expressing himself to his officers indicated no small disappointment.

“They threw out in conversation that they are not at war with the Americans, but were ordered out by the Emperor of Morocco, for their improvement in navigation and particularly to anchor at Madeira, and obtain the Governor’s certificate that they had all accordingly touched here.”

Even the British were not immune when the dignity of Emperor of Morocco was offended. The following news was received from Tangier about the middle of May:

“We learn that the affairs of England are taking a more favorable turn there. The Emperor of Morocco, offended at hearing nothing from Lord Paine, who left Tangier about eight months since, and at nothing being done towards carrying his proposition into effect, and receiving no reply to his letter to the King of England, written last August, was determined to give a public proof of his resentment; and in consequence, on the sixth of February, an order arrived at Tangier, augmenting the duties upon all provisions exported by the English, in contradiction to the treaty of the fourteenth of July, 1784, executed by Sir Roger Curtis in the name of Great Britain. The English pro-consul, Mr. Duif, absolutely refused payment of the additional duties, and by the direction of the Governor of Gibraltar, caused a representation to be made to the Emperor, that a perseverance in these demands would be equivalent to a formal declaration of war, and that if they were not relinquished a rupture would inevitably ensue. The Pasha had received orders from his master to suspend the execution of those formerly transmitted him, till he shall have given an answer to the British Vice-Consul. From these last orders, it is conjectured that the Emperor is desirous of a reconciliation with England.”

Almost a year elapsed, the three captains and their crews were still in captivity and slavery. Finally Captain Obryan wrote a letter to his ship's owner in the city of Philadelphia. On June 22, 1786, he states:

"I have written several letters to you from Algiers informing you of my captivity; I have now to inform you that on the twentieth of March, a Mr. Lamb from America, via Spain, arrived in this city: his business was to treat for a peace, and redeem us unfortunate American prisoners, being twenty-one in number, but succeeded in neither.

"He has neglected making the necessary inquiries respecting the method generally made use of in the redemption of men in our unfortunate situation; but on his arrival in Algiers gave out that he came to redeem the American captives, which was immediately signified to the Dey, who, conceiving from the report, that he had brought money for the purpose, asked Mr. Lamb what he would give for them. Mr. Lamb offered ten thousand dollars; the Dey then raised his price to fifty thousand, that is six thousand for a master of a ship, four thousand for a mate, and fifteen hundred for a common seaman. Mr. Lamb endeavored to prevail on the Dey to abate his demand, but with little success, he only lowering it eighteen hundred dollars. Mr. Lamb signified to the Dey that he would procure the money and return with in it four months, and departed from Algiers on the twenty-fifth of April, for Spain. How far he may comply with his promise, time only can determine.

"The foundation of a treaty, or indeed any business to be transacted with the Algerines, should be entrusted to some faithful persons, and of abilities, and such as are acquainted with their language, manners and policy. I have reason to believe, that although the Dey refused to enter into a treaty of peace with Mr. Lamb, yet before his departure he had assurance that the Dey would enter into such a treaty with the United States; but policy requires that it should be done cautiously and perhaps privately; it would no doubt cost the States a great sum of money, but consider what it cost the Spaniards to procure their peace.

"We should most certainly exert ourselves to obtain a peace with this regency; the Algerines are very sensible of our separation from Great Britain; they likewise know that we are far off them, nor do they expect to take any of our ships, unless they find us within the Straits, or off Spain or Portugal.

"The Algerine marine strength is not great; they have ten sail of cruisers only, with xebecs viz: one of thirty-two, one of twenty, two of sixteen, and one of twelve guns, they are all very small vessels considering their weight of metal; they have fifty-five gun boats to defend the city in case of an attack by sea.

"There is no fear of meeting any Algerines on your side of the forty-second north latitude. I believe the British make the danger appear greater than it really is, by which means the American bottoms are insured at a very high rate. The British Consul treats us Americans very contemptuously, much to the discredit of his character. He is a very inveterate enemy to the Americans; he informed the Dey that the vessel in which Mr. Lamb came passenger to this place was American property, by which she was greatly exposed; but by the prevalent interposition of the Comte d'Espilly (the Spanish Consul) the head man of the marine department signified to the Dey that the information was false. When Mr. Lamb was in Algiers, his intimacy with the British Consul was very obvious; indeed he ought to have avoided him as an American would

have avoided Algiers. I am very sure that Mr. Lamb might have laid the foundation of a treaty; but believe me, Sir, if that business is still entrusted to him, it will cost some thousands more than if it was in the hands of a qualified statesman. The Dey is a very old man; and no doubt when he goes to his dear prophet, there will be a great change in the affairs of Algiers; there ought, therefore, to be a particular attention paid to those persons who have the Dey's ear to command, as they in all probability will have a considerable share in the Algerine politics after the Dey's death. You have no idea how much they will be courted by every Christian nation; what large presents of warlike stores they are daily making him—this is not occasioned by love but fear.

“Their head minister and director of the marine, that is, the Michlasha, should be well noticed, he is the third in rank next to the King; he is a valuable good man, and fills his office as well as any man can do, and treats the Americans with much civility. We have lived at the house of a worthy French merchant since December last, and have been treated with great politeness; we are under many obligations of gratitude to the Count d'Espilly, he is both the friend and protector of the unfortunate Americans. The French and Swedish Consuls, as also a number of French merchants, pay great attention to us. I am convinced that the British will oppose the treaty between the United States and the regency. They, the British, will reap the advantage in several ways; one way is, by being the carriers of our produce. I am inclined to think it would not be agreeable to the French to see us have a very extensive trade in the Mediterranean. If the Americans wish to be a flourishing commercial people, they must remove every apparent obstacle; nor can they possibly succeed until the great commercial machine be put together and directed in some measure by one good set of politics.

“Any nation that has people to redeem, peace to make, or indeed if they have anything else to do with this people, they must have money! Money is their god and Mohammed their prophet. If you give a Turk money with the one hand, you must take out one of his eyes with the other.

“The city of Algiers is built on the side of a hill and is strongly fortified and garrisoned. There are nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants, to wit: one thousand Turks, twelve thousands Moors, sixteen thousand Jews and about four thousand Christian slaves of all nations in Christendom. The Turks are brave and civil, no one can be a soldier in the regency but Turks; Moors are not trusted, being a dastardly people. I consider the Turks a very ferocious but not by any means such a wicked set of men as they have been generally held up to be. You need not believe me to be clear of Algiers until you see me, or have my letter to such effect.”

An indignant New Yorker signing himself American, his soul harrowed by the embarrassing delays of Congress, and the melancholy accounts of the captivity and slavery of these countrymen in Algiers, expresses also the wrath and dismay that filled the breasts of all citizens in this land when they learned the facts of these awful acts of piracy on the high seas and the ransom demanded by the Barbary Corsairs. An excerpt of his letter is as follows:

“I cannot but think a great error has been committed by our rulers, in delaying to settle national points of such importance, till this moment, with the

predatory piratical states of Barbary, more dangerous to be at outs with than any crowned head in Europe. The Dey is an absolute monarch by assumption, to all intents and purposes, and preys at pleasure on the ships of all nations, except the British, whom he finds it his best interest to keep in with. The proximity of his capital to Gibraltar causes reciprocal intercourse and mutual acts of kindness especially advantageous, and without which neither could long preserve their power. A British Consul will never solicit favor (at the risk of his commission) for an American slave at Algiers, depend upon it. The Indians say there is sometimes a necessity of holding a candle to the Devil, that he may not hurt them. All the European powers court the favor of this Algerine monster and pest of the world, when it would be more noble and magnanimous in uniting their powers to sweep them, with besome of restruction, until they had extirpated those lawless banditti from the face of the earth. The time may come when they might see the indispensable necessity of doing so, and I hope it is not very far off. However, for the present, it would not be in the least degrading to imitate the temporizing disposition of those old experienced nations. The haughty Dey is no doubt extremely disgusted that Congress did not immediately send an official messenger to his court; and in their wonted wisdom it ought to have been done, and this step would have prevented all the ill consequences the omission has occasioned. Better late than never; and the speedier they do so, the happier it will be for their country. The martial prowess of Algerines, none can doubt; convincing proofs without number can be given, that they fight more like devils than human creatures. They have nothing else to depend on, and therefore the whole nation are warriors. The Dey may now expect a large sum for the ransom of our people, but he will miss his aim, for we have it not to gorge his voracious appetite with; however a large dole of well-seasoned flattery may, perhaps, prove a specific substitute in the place of mammon.

The Dey has been heard to speak in raptures of the warlike feats of brave Americans; and as he never expected to behold the renowned General, he wished to see his glorious picture; and said that should Congress think proper to favor him with a just portrait, at full length of his Excellency General Washington, it should be received with joy and hung in the royal palace of Algiers. Let him have it by all means as quick as possible, and who knows but this very picture alone may inspire him with virtue and humanity, disarm him of malice, and restore peace more effectual and permanent than a ton of gold, which we have not got to stuff him with. Could Congress but condescend for once to temporize and at this crisis, necessity would fully justify it, they well know (when they set about it) how to make reasonable apologies for the long delay of courting the friendship of the Dey. The matchless records of Congress are sufficient proof of their wisdom. We may expect swarms of xebecs on our coasts, if peace be not speedily made with them; when every vessel must fall a prey into their hands, as we have no public ships of war to oppose them, and it would not be an object for privateers; for should any of their vessels be captured, nothing would be got but dirt, liee, and stinking two-legged livestock, good for nothing but their skins, which, being already well tanned, may make everlasting drum heads and very pretty slippers for gentlemen."

Congress no doubt became active. The growing feeling of uneasiness on all sides had its effect because proposals were again made early in 1786 through American diplomatic representatives, with the result

that peace was finally declared with the Emperor of Morocco. On July 24 of that year a treaty with the Barbary States was signed and the provisions of the same communicated to Congress. The terms of that peace were as follows:

“In the name of God! Mohamet, Ben-Abdala! Most illustrious Congress of America! We have received your letter by the hands of your Ambassador, and perused its contents with all due attention. We have remarked therein, the inclination you express of concluding with us a treaty of peace. To this we willingly have assented; and even ratified the plan, such as you have proposed, by setting thereto our imperial seal. Wherefore, we have from that moment, given strict command to the captains of our ports, to protect, and assist all ships under American colors, and, in short, to shew them every favor due to the most friendly powers: being fully determined to do much, when an opportunity offers. We write this in full testimony of our sincere friendship, and of the peace which we offer on our part.

“Given the twentieth day of the Ramadan, in the year of the Hegira, 1200, that is the twenty-fourth of July, 1786.

“The following are the heads of the treaty of peace concluded betwixt the Americans and the Emperor of Morocco July 24, 1786:

“If the Americans are at war with any other nation, their vessels are to be allowed to take refuge in any of the ports belonging to his Imperial Majesty—all Moorish subjects, found on board the enemy’s ships to be made prisoners, and their effects considered as prizes; the same article holds with regard to the Americans—the ships belonging to the two contracting powers, when they meet at sea, to salute and parley, but not to come on board of each other. In case of war, it is lawful to board each other, but only two men to do this, and if they commit any excess, the sufferers to be recompensed by them. If any frigates or cruisers belonging to his Moorish Majesty take an American vessel, and bring it into one of his ports, his Majesty will immediately release the ship and crew, and restore their effects . . . when any of his Majesty’s ships enter an American port, she is to be hospitably received, and furnished with what she may stand in need of . . . if an American ship wants repairs, and comes into any of his Majesty’s harbors for that purpose, it shall be allowed her to land, and to put on board again her goods, without paying any duty . . . If an American vessel is wrecked on any coast belonging to the Emperor of Morocco she is not to be molested in any manner, but provided with necessaries . . . American vessels in the harbors, or on the coast belonging to his Imperial Majesty, to be secure from other nations, and receive every assistance from Moorish subjects.

“This article extends, vice versa, to Moorish ships in the harbors or coasts of America. In case of war, if the vessels of the two contending powers happen to be together in any of his Majesty’s harbors, they are to depart one by one, at twenty-four hours’ interval between the time of each departure; this article extends to the Moorish ships in America . . . The prisoners of an American ship arriving at any harbor belonging to his Imperial Majesty, cannot be given up to any power whatever . . . American vessels, saluting towns, belonging to his Imperial Majesty, to have the salute returned by the same number of guns. American merchants settling in any of the ports belonging to his Imperial Majesty, to enjoy the same privileges and advantages as other nations, and can

trade from one port to another, without being detained for quarantine, and to be allowed interpreters. In case of war between the two nations, they are to exchange their prisoners of war, man for man—American merchants not to be obliged to purchase merchandise contrary to their pleasure, not to be molested in the disposal of their goods—when the goods are landed they are to be examined, that the usual duties may be imposed; but in case of fraud or contraband goods, the person committing the fraud only to be punished, without a confiscation of the ship . . . masters of ships not obliged to carry their goods from one port to another, without their will, notwithstanding the price offered and agreed upon . . . Americans guilty of crimes, to be subject to the judgment of their own Consul only. If he requires assistance from the governor of the place it is to be granted him; if he cannot determine the case, the criminal is to be sent to America . . . An American injuring or assaulting a subject of his Imperial Majesty may be imprisoned by the Governor, who is to sit in judgment upon him, but in the presence of the Consul, who is allowed to plead his cause. If the prisoner makes his escape, the Consul is not answerable. If an American subject dies in his Imperial Majesty's dominions his effects are to be sent to the Consul, or trading company, to be surrendered to the heirs claiming the same. The American Consul is to reside in one of the ports belonging to his Imperial Majesty, and considered as other Consuls. In case of a disagreement between the two contracting parties, the peace to remain until the matter is determined; if war is resolved on, arms are not to be taken up before nine months after the determination, in order to give the subjects of both nations time to depart quietly with their effects . . . If his Imperial Majesty thinks proper to grant any privileges to other nations, the same are to be extended to the Americans. The peace between the two nations is to last fifty years, from the present twentieth of the Ramadan, year of the Hegira 1200; that is July 24, 1786."

Solemn and comprehensive as this treaty appeared, the stipulations of the contract were not adhered to very long by the Emperor of Morocco for the following letter was sent by his Imperial Majesty to the several Consuls resident at Tangier and was delivered to each of them by the Pasha of Tangier on the first day of June, 1788:

"In the name of God—there is no power nor strength but in God.

"To all the Consuls resident at Tangier; peace be to those who follow the right way.

"By these you are to know, that we are in peace and friendship with all the Christian powers, until the month of May of the year 1203, answering to the year 1789; and such nations who are then desirous to continue in peace and friendship with us, must when the said month of May comes, write us a letter, to let us know that they are in peace and friendship with us, and then we shall do the same with them; and if any of those Christian nations desire to go to war with us, they shall let us know it by the above-mentioned month of May—and we trust that God will keep us in his protection against them. And thus I have said all I have to say.

"The second of the month Schabar, 1202, being seventh of May, 1788."

Shortly after this warning of the Emperor of Morocco was sent, his Majesty's secretary, Francisco Chiappe, wrote a letter to all the

Consuls resident at Tangier, which was delivered to them at the Castle by Basha of Tangier on the first of June, 1788. It contained the following message:

“His Imperial Majesty whom God has in his holy keeping, has commended me to make it known to you, that he is not at war with any nation whatsoever; and that he will send ten galiots and eight galleys into the Streights; part of them to be stationed at Algeziras, and another part of Tangier and Tetuan, in order by that means, to keep master of the Streights; and the prizes they shall make of them shall be burnt, together with their cargoes, and the crews put in chains. His Imperial Majesty will also send his frigates to America, provided with European pilots, and if they make any prizes, they shall be dealt with as above mentioned, as his Imperial Majesty stands in no want of money or any worldly effects; and he trusts that God will make him conqueror. I have the honor to be, your humble servant,

“F. CHIAPPE, *Secretary of the Foreign Department.*

“Morocco, May 9, 1788.”

American shipping was again at the mercy of the Corsairs. A letter from a master of a ship to a gentleman in Philadelphia dated Cadiz, August 9, 1789, states:

“I cannot close this without relating to you the impediment I met with in my passage from England to the Algerine cruisers. The first I met with near the rock of Lisbon, who after a strict scrutiny of my pass, and some detention, permitted me to proceed. The next I fell in with off Cape St. Vincent, a large ship then in company with me drew the attention of the Algerine xebec, who dispatched her boat after me, and pursued the ship. Fortunately a breeze sprang up that gave me the advantage of the boat, who declined the chase, and joined the xebec, who by this time had commenced a running fight with the ship, that was obliged to take shelter under a Spanish fort, and I fell in with one off Cape St. Mary's, who made me hoist my boat out and send my pass on board him, who after a deal of examination and strict scrutiny into the reality of my pass, suffered me to go on. At 12 o'clock at night, not being then ten leagues from Cadiz, was brought to by two more, who served as before, and the next morning I was joyfully anchored here where I am told they have extended themselves to the westward of the Western Islands in search for American and Portuguese vessels. At present there is a truce subsisting between them and Spain but it is conjectured it will not terminate in a permanent peace.”

The shippers of all nations must have suffered extreme annoyance from these outlaws of the Barbary coast. To the lack of concerted action and to the desire of commercial supremacy on the part of European powers over each other, the piratical pest was permitted to thrive in ill-gotten goods and to practically tyrannize those who performed not his every wish.

“There is one object which all the American Ambassadors in Europe have been instructed to pursue with all public ardor and that is, to propose and

bring to a happy conclusion, a treaty of confederation of all the maritime powers against Algierne, Tunisian, and other piratical states that infest the Mediterranean and interrupt the commerce of Europe and America. Two plans have been proposed on this head—one that each contracting party shall agree to equip, and in turn keep stations in the Mediterranean for a naval squadron, sufficient for the protection of all ships carrying the flags of Christian powers; this squadron to be relieved every six weeks, and to be bound to protect not only the trade of the nation to which the squadron belongs, but also of every other nation that shall be a party to the treaty; the Spaniards to fit out the first squadron, to be relieved by another furnished at the joint expense of the Italian states; this to be relieved by the French, these again by the English; and so on by the Dutch, Danes, Swedes, Russians, and Americans. The other plan is, that the Order of Malta shall be invited to undertake the protection of all ships belonging to the contracting parties, sailing up the Levant or in the Mediterranean; and that the contracting parties shall each furnish a quota of money, to be paid annually into the treasury of the Order at Malta, to enable the Order to keep constantly at sea a force sufficient to secure the freedom of navigation, within the latitudes to be specified. In both plans a preliminary is, that the tributes or presents, paid to the Barbary States shall cease, and determine; and that the necessity of ships sailing through the Mediterranean, being furnished with passes shall no longer exist. The court of Spain, we are assured, has lent a favorable ear to the proposal, and has expressed its readiness to accede to a treaty, founded on either of two plans, whenever the other maritime powers will signify their approbation of the system. The court of Naples warmly espouses the proposition. France and England have not given an answer to the subject.”

On account of commercial rivalries and other economic and political advantages, national jealousies and bitter hatreds, special immunities and privileges, the Barbary States were suffered to continue their outlawry against certain civilized governments with impunity. The Corsairs became more insolent in their arbitrary piratical confiscations of cargoes; and the shameful and overbearing exaction of tribute became yearly a more baneful obstruction to commerce. The game was so lucrative that new and more powerful combinations of robber states were being formed to terrorize the world.

Conditions of American seamen in European trade were now well nigh intolerable. The number of American prisoners in Algiers was one hundred and fifteen and there were ten men still remaining who were captured in 1785. The indignation of free Americans, the humiliation and reproach of Congress, the urgent entreaty of those in captivity brought action in the House of Representatives who resolved: “That a naval force adequate for the protection of commerce of the United States against the Algierne forces ought to be provided.”

Construction was soon begun on six frigates and ten small vessels and at the same time negotiations were renewed with the Dey of Algiers. The palliative treatment of our national ills was the payment of a tribute of about one million dollars. Treaties became popular for the other Barbary States claimed the attention of our government. Another million dollars was squandered, but the extortion and pillaging of American cargoes continued. Tripoli threatened President Adams with the seizure of American vessels unless similar tributes were paid to that nation. Tunis made a like demand of President Jefferson. The pesky and vicious trouble-mongers finally exhausted the patience of the American government, who resorted to reprisals by sending Commodore Dale and Captain Bainbridge to subdue these turbulent marauders and to teach them a valuable lesson. This is "the first example among Christian nations," says Shouler, "of making reprisal instead of ransom the rule of security" against piratical attack.

It was on the occasion of the blockade of Tripoli that Lieutenant Stephen Decatur won renown when he set fire to the hulk of the *Philadelphia* at anchor within half a gun-shot of the Basha's fortified castle. For this daring act of bravery young Decatur was promoted to a captaincy.

In June, 1805, naval operations ceased, peace was declared, prisoners were exchanged, but strange to say, it required sixty thousand dollars to close the agreement. The Mediterranean war had this effect on the whole of Europe, that it aroused the slumbering consciences of all nations, who from this time on saw clearly their duties, and refused to condone or to attempt to legalize the crimes of these robbers on land and sea.

The last frenzied clutches of the insulting and dreaded Barbary Corsairs were not relaxed until 1815, when Decatur was again sent to Algiers. A few days after passing Gibraltar, he captured the largest ship of the enemy, and when he appeared off the Algerine coast the Dey, full of terror, surrendered unconditionally. All prisoners were liberated, pecuniary indemnities were demanded and paid, future claims to tribute were renounced forever, and the enslavement of American citizens was prohibited under pain of further reprisals. Tunis and Tripoli were also compelled to pay an indemnity for aiding the British under the guns of the Barbary coast to capture certain American vessels. The death knell of piracy was sounded by Lord Exmouth, an Englishman, in 1816, when he bombarded the city

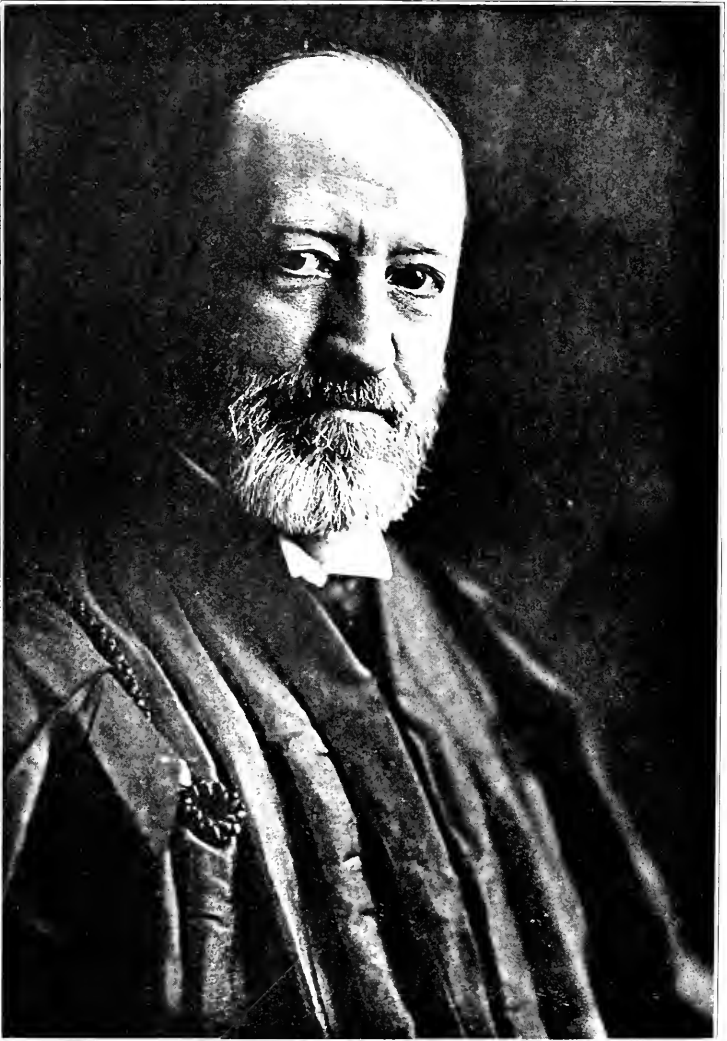
of Algiers and entirely destroyed the navy. Thus the menace to European commerce and Christian civilization was removed from the world forever.

Note.—The documents in this article are taken from letters and other authoritative information appearing in the newspapers of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and their vicinities between the years 1784-1789. See fuller note as to origin in the January issue of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. VIII, No. 3.

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TIMOTHY D. HURLEY, humanitarian, philanthropist and jurist, father of the Juvenile Court and advocate of clean recreation and elevating environment for the young.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

The Kaskaskia Commons.—In *Carlyle v. Bartels*, 315 Ill., at page 373, the Supreme Court of Illinois said:

“In 1700 the Mission of the Immaculate Conception was established near the mouth of the Kaskaskia River, and thereafter the commons, of which the lots in question (in the case before the court) are a part, was granted by the French government, which then held possession of the Mississippi Valley, to the Parish of the Immaculate Conception of Kaskaskia. Kaskaskia and the country thereabout passed in succession under the dominion of Great Britain, the Commonwealth of Virginia and the United States of America. Prior to the admission of Illinois into the Union as a State, the Congress of the United States had confirmed the title to Kaskaskia Commons granted by the French government one hundred years earlier. The first constitution of Illinois recognized the existence of this Commons and forbade its sale or lease. The constitution of 1848 again recognized and protected the grant of this Commons to the inhabitants of the Parish of the Immaculate Conception of Kaskaskia, and provided for its subdivision and sale or lease, under control of the State, on the petition of a majority of the voters interested in the Commons. The State of Illinois never has held title to the lands in fee nor has it ever held the Commons in trust. The legal title was originally granted to and later confirmed in the inhabitants of the Parish of the Immaculate Conception of Kaskaskia, for the use and benefit of the inhabitants. The State merely supervised the administration of the trust. The entity which held the legal title did not have power to alienate it, but this court has held that it was competent for the State to authorize an alienation and provide the agencies by which it might be effected. (*Stead v. President and Trustees of the Commons of Kaskaskia*, 243 Ill. 239; *Land Commissioners of Commons of Kaskaskia v. President and Trustees of Same*, 249 Ill. 578).”

This decision is reaffirmed in *People v. Mitchell*, 317 Ill. 439, 440.

Timothy D. Hurley.—We can think of no theme better fitted for editorial comment than a reference to the life and death of a devoted friend of human progress and betterment, unfolded before our own eyes.

“I have fought the good fight. I have kept the faith.”

The portion of the text of Father Dinneen's funeral oration above quoted was peculiarly well adapted to the distinguished humanist, whose remains were carried to their last resting place, Calvary, Tuesday, October 5.

The thousands who knew and loved Judge Hurley in his life time were profoundly shocked when the announcement of his death came Saturday morning. Few knew that he was ailing, and many of his acquaintances had met him but a few days before. Although the last illness was brief, he had suffered several periods of illness in recent years.

Few men of our day deserve such encomium as Timothy D. Hurley. Contrary to the ordinary view, Judge Hurley did not become notable, that is worthy of esteem, when he was chosen as a judge, high honor though that is. He was worthy of the greatest appreciation when as a lowly, unknown citizen he struggled, yes that is the word—for the betterment of mankind and especially of the youth.

How much of sacrifice and privation is incident, and, to men of small means, inseparable from work of the character pursued all his life by Judge Hurley may

be realized only by those who attempt it. It is easy for people of independent means to do social work, but let a person with his own way to make and, as is usually the case, a dependent family, attempt activities of a social, charitable or benevolent nature and he is overburdened. Nor does such a one elicit sympathy. Most people, their families perhaps more than others, condemn them for engaging in such work. But who will do it? The thrifty or the rich? Never. Yet what would the world be without the benevolent, the humanitarian?

In this category fall all the clergy, the religious, male and female, and all the noble men and women, who like Judge Hurley spend themselves in promoting the betterment, soul and body, of their race.

If distinction and independent recompense are valuable rewards, never were they more fitting or better merited than in Judge Hurley's case. A quarter of a century and more of unremitting toil and sacrifice for others, wholly unrequited, surely deserves a reward. All too many of such workers must be content to depend upon the eternal reward, which, it is easy to believe, will be certain and adequate, and if Judge Hurley in addition received a desirable temporal reward, if even for a short time it is a cause for rejoicing and thanksgiving. We are sure that Judge Hurley regarded his elevation to the bench as a reward for his earnest and sacrificing life. We know, too, that his thousands of friends rejoiced and gave thanks for the honors and emoluments bestowed upon him, and, human-like they grieve that he was not longer spared to enjoy them. We may be consoled by the belief that he has only passed from the temporal to an eternal reward.

The press is uniform in praise of his life and labors. A death notice reads:

Chicago has been the home of Judge Hurley since 1882. Five years after he came here he was graduated from the Northwestern University School of Law and since then has been actively engaged in the practice of law or on the bench. He was deeply interested in the conditions surrounding young people. He was the author in 1891 of the first bill permitting the establishment of the Juvenile Court and later became the first probation officer of the court.

He helped to obtain amendments to the industrial school law of 1901, the 1901 law governing the St. Charles School for Boys, the law of 1903 relating to the Chicago Home for Girls, the 1905 law relating to the visitation of children placed in family homes, and the 1907 amendment to the Juvenile Court law.

After his inauguration as a Superior Court Judge in 1921 Judge Hurley began an energetic campaign against divorce evils. He refused to grant divorces to wives who waived alimony when their husbands failed to contest suits. Declaring that "divorces in Chicago were easier to get than meals," he issued writs against "domestic parasites," or home wreckers.

Several times he appeared before the state legislature in the interest of reforms touching the divorce problem in the state. In 1923 he recommended that the Illinois Statute preventing the remarriage of divorced persons within one year after the decree was granted be repealed because it had the effect of bringing about unlawful marriages, thus illegitimatizing children.

A heart attack was the cause of death. Judge Hurley had been under treatment during the summer at the Mayo Brothers' Hospital in Rochester, Minn., and only three weeks ago returned to his home, apparently restored to health. Friday night he felt ill, but rallied and seemed to have recovered when he succumbed to a second attack. He was 63 years old.

The funeral was held from his home, 2759 Ridge Avenue, Evanston, Tuesday morning at 10:30 o'clock at St. Mary's Catholic Church in Evanston. The Rev-

erend T. J. Murphy, F. G. Dinneen and H. P. Smyth celebrated a solemn requiem High Mass. Burial was in Calvary Cemetery.

The following were named as active pallbearers: Patrick J. Carr, Martin J. O'Brien, Anton J. Cermak, Robert M. Sweitzer, Otto Baer, John F. Tyrrell. The following judges were chosen honorary pallbearers: William J. Lindsey, John R. Caverly, Hugo Pam, Thomas J. Lynch, Denis E. Sullivan, Philip L. Sullivan, George Kersten, Walter P. Steffen, Marcus A. Kavanagh, John P. McGoorty, Harry M. Fisher, Joseph B. David, John M. O'Connor, Alfred E. Barnes, David F. Matchett, Charles M. Thomson, Thomas Taylor, Jr., Ira Ryner, Hosea W. Wells, Henry Horner, Charles A. Williams, Charles M. Foell, Joseph H. Fitch, Martin M. Gridley, Frank Johnston, Jr., Frances E. Wilson, Hugo M. Friend, Jesse Holdom, Joseph Sabath, Harry E. Lewis, George Fred Rush, Wells M. Cook, Worth E. Caylor, Harry B. Miller, Edmund K. Jarecki, Oscar Hebel, William H. McSurely, David M. Brothers, William V. Brothers, Victor P. Arnold, Mary Bartelme, John J. Sullivan, Michael L. McKinley, Oscar M. Torrison, John M. Swanson, Emanuel Eller, Kickham Scanlon, Jacob H. Hopkins, William M. Gemmill, Samuel Alschuler, James H. Kilkerson, George A. Carpenter, Adam C. Cliffe, George T. Page. Other honorary pallbearers were: Mayor William E. Dever, Dr. Rudolph Stone, Dr. Alex Pope, John Touhy, Charles Graydon, Harry Kohl, Charles Boyd, James J. Scully, Charles Grover, Hugh McCullough, John B. King, Samuel E. Erickson, Robert E. Crowe, Oscar E. Carlstrom, A. A. Sprague, Milton J. Foreman, Clayton F. Smith, Arthur O'Brien, John H. Passmore, Thomas Wallace, George Orman, Edward J. Brundage, Michael Rosenberg, Timothy Crowe, Jas. M. Whalen, Edward J. Kelly, George E. Brennan, John Conroy, Joseph Fitzgerald, Michael Igoe, Joseph P. Savage, Emmett Whealan, George Hull Porter, Morris Eller, Lawrence F. King, August Miller, Charles V. Barrett, George Barrett, Dennis J. Egan, James Ronan, James Bremner, Thomas F. Leahy, Russell Whitman, John Beardon.

These observations and accounts are but a meagre outline of the life of Timothy D. Hurley. He is justly termed the "Father of the Juvenile Court," country-wide. He was unquestionably the leading Catholic layman in every kind of social and benevolent work and was especially active in the very important Big Brother work of the Archdiocesan Union of Chicago, and in all movements for clean motion pictures. In his time he belonged to the Knights of Columbus and all the important Catholic societies. He was an earnest and devoted American Irishman, a one hundred per cent American and an able and just judge.

Living men in his own and other spheres may emulate him with profit. The hero-worship of him by growing youth is justified, and a desire to follow in his footsteps is highly praiseworthy.

It may truthfully be said of Timothy D. Hurley that he made the world better by living in it, and this is the highest achievement attainable by a human being.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

CHICAGO, AND HOW IT GREW

THE CHURCHES, 1833 AND NOW

From its very beginning, in the arrival of a ragged explorer in the black robes of the Society of Jesus, to the the week of the great International Religious Congress, the romantic story of Chicago would almost be covered in a history of Chicago churches. Of all the contrasts that make the larger story so fascinating none is more striking than those the church records show:

Pere Marquette, afire with zeal, bringing the cross and the Word to a wilderness incredibly remote . . . and Cardinal Bonzano, borne by special train to bestow the Pope's blessing upon a great city now only a few days from Rome.

Philo Carpenter, holding sabbath-school meetings in a log hut in a frontier army post . . . and chimes sending a call to worship into the loop from the 556-foot spire of a skyscraper cathedral.

The settlers along Massachusetts Bay were still bartering with Indians for homesteads when the first altar was raised in what is now Chicago. Jesuits established the Mission of the Guardian Angel in 1696, near the spot where Foster Avenue now crosses the drainage canal. But that wilderness mission survived only until 1699. One hundred and thirty-four years passed before the first permanent church was established here.

In the spring of 1833 Chicago was a miserable little trading post, sprawling beside a sluggish, muddy river. A tiny fort at the river's mouth, three frame stores, log cabins enough to outline one street—nothing more—distinguished the settlement from the surrounding prairie.

If Chicago had felt in need of religion it hadn't mentioned the want before, but 1833 brought a change. Indians in the back country were active that spring. They drove several families of settlers into Fort Dearborn for shelter and held there other families headed toward th plains. By May the settlement had a population of "nearly 300 persons," according to one contemporary account, and the community began to think of public worship.

Most of the "nearly 300" residents were Catholics, and from that majority went forth the first call for a priest. Jean Baptiste Beau-bien, the trader at the American Fur Company's post, several other Frenchmen, a number of converted Indians and a scattering of Irish, Germans and Canadians united in April, 1833, in an appeal to Bishop

Rosatti at St. Louis for a church. The Bishop responded instantly. On May 1 there arrived at the little river-mouth town a young French priest, recently ordained, under orders to organize a church among the petitioners.

Fr. John Mary Irenaeus St. Cyr spoke little English and had had no previous charge, but he did not lack energy. With bearded trappers, blanketed Indians, half-breed children and a few women, most of them squaws, kneeling on the dirt floor before a simple altar Father St. Cyr celebrated Mass in a little cabin on the river bank on Sunday, May 5. Before the summer had ended he had built a chapel with plank benches for pews and a table for use either as pulpit or altar. It was called St. Mary's.

Father St. Cyr had not been in Chicago a fortnight when a troop ship with re-enforcements for Fort Dearborn landed the Rev. Jeremiah Porter at the mouth of the river. Dr. Porter was not sure that he ought to stay in Chicago. Two other frontier army posts were without chaplains and he had thought of going on to one of them. He must have felt the pull of those other posts when he first looked at the settlement about Fort Dearborn, for Chicago bore no signs of destiny then.

"A wide, wet prairie, as far as the eye could see," Dr. Porter wrote later, in describing his first impressions of Chicago. In the midst of it the almost imperceptible village, "on a muddy river winding south over the sand-bar to the lake, with a few scattered dwellings."

But officers and men of the detachment of troops he was traveling with were insistent that Dr. Porter remain. When townspeople added their appeals the chaplain consented. He deemed Chicago in sore need of religious instruction. There had been no Protestant preaching in the village except by Methodist circuit riders from a mission on the Fox River. The nearest church on the north was at Green Bay; to the west no preacher was to be found this side of Galena; east of Chicago the nearest mission was at White Pigeon, Mich.

On Sunday, May 19, a fortnight after Father St. Cyr's first Mass in Mark Beaubien's cabin, Dr. Porter and a little company of worshipers met in the carpenter shop at Fort Dearborn for simple devotional services. For the first sermon ever spoken by a Protestant in Chicago the chaplain chose John 15:8, as his text: "Herein is my Father glorified that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples."

Six weeks later, on June 26, Dr. Porter and thirty others, eighteen of them from Fort Dearborn, organized the First Presbyterian Church

of Chicago. That winter they raised their first house of worship "out on the prairie," near where the Sherman House now stands.

Before winter, however, a Baptist Church had been organized and housed. The Rev. Allen B. Freeman got a flock together in August and soon afterward built a two-story school and church in South Water threet near Franklin. He and Dr. Porter preached alternately in the school-church that fall and winter.

M ethodist and Episcopal churches were organized in 1834, Unitarian and Universalist in 1836, Jewish in 1845 and Lutheran in 1846. From those beginnings the churches have kept abreast of the swiftly marching city. Twelve hundred congregations, with an aggregate membership of 600,000, are affiliated with the Chicago Church Federation. Two hundred and thirty-nine city churches and 122 in the suburbs minister to the Catholic population of 1,250,000. There are 125 Jewish synagogues in the city. Sixteen hundred churches in all, where ninety-three years ago there was none.

GEORGE P. STONE.

HISTORY IN THE PRESS

ACQUISITION OF THE NORTHWEST TO BE OBSERVED IN 1928

France, Spain, England and Canada and the States which once formed the Northwest Territory will be asked to participate in a Sesqui-Centennial Exposition to be held near East St. Louis in the summer of 1928 to commemorate the acquisition of the territory by the United States.

The celebration will center about Cahokia, southwest of here, on the banks of the Mississippi River. Cahokia is the oldest settlement west of the Allegheny Mountains. A French mission was established there in 1699.

Programs are to be arranged to commemorate incidents and men connected with the history of the region. An historic park at Cahokia will be dedicated, and the famous Woodriver Massacre will be re-enacted.

It is expected that one of the events will be the dedication of a memorial to George Rogers Clark, a Virginian, who acquired for his State the Northwest Territory in 1778 by obtaining a treaty with Indian nations at a "grand council" of Indians from the States that are now Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin. A monument will also be dedicated to Father Pierre Guibault, a French missionary stationed at Cahokia, through whose intervention Clark was able to effect peaceable relations with the Indians.

Historic buildings at Cahokia are to be restored to their original state. An effort is also being made to have buildings removed for one purpose or another returned to their original sites. The first courthouse west of the Alleghenies, at Cahokia, was removed to Chicago for the World's Fair and is still standing in Chicago.

HONOR FOUNDER OF NEW ORLEANS

(By Associated Press)

New Orleans, May 17.—After 200 years New Orleans is proposing to honor Bienville, its founder, by naming a park for him.

For two centuries Bienville has had to worry along with only a street named in his honor, and that street not one of the leading thoroughfares. The Louisiana Historical Society is gaining support in its campaign to have City Park rechristened Bienville Park.

Bienville and his party of explorers founded New Orleans in 1718, Bienville holding out for locating the city on its present site.

RESEARCH WORK RECALLS EARLY MISSIONARY WORK AND PERSECUTIONS

(*By Associated Press*)

Santa Fe, N. M., April 20.—Brothers of the Franciscan Order of the Roman Catholic Church in the southwest are preserving the traditions of their organization, which arose from the martyrdom of priests who spent centuries in the conversion of the Pueblo Indians from their pagan belief to Christianity.

Much research work is being done by scholars to bring to light the facts of the spiritual conquest of the Pueblos, which they believe to be one of the most colorful pages of the history of the Americans.

Father Theodocius Meyer, after considerable study in the archives of the mission at Santa Barbara, Calif., has compiled a list of fifty-one members of the Order who gave their lives in the period from 1542 to 1696. The result of this research contrasts the religious brothers with the proud conquistador, the one for the prize of mystical gold and gems, the other for the prize of human souls.

The history of the Christianization of the Indians showed that there were waves of persecution of the priests at intervals of forty or fifty years throughout nearly two centuries. They reached their climax in 1680, when the Pueblo Indians rose in rebellion against the tyranny of the Spanish rule, and killed nearly every white man in New Mexico. By a pre-arranged plot, thirty-one missionaries in a score of Pueblos, many of them 100 or more miles apart, were killed on one day.

Five of the religious brothers were killed in another massacre in a lesser uprising on June 4, 1696. The first of the priests to lose his life at the hands of the Pueblo Indians was Father Juan de Padilla, who was killed at Gran Quivera on November 20, 1542.

In the same year two other priests were killed, one at Tiguex and the other at Pecos.

The three padres had remained behind among the savages after the first of the conquistadores had despaired of finding the mythical wealth of the Indians, and had returned to Mexico. The Gran Quivera, where the first one died, was reputed at that time to be large Indian city where great wealth was to be found, and there was also some talk that there was the famed Fountain of Youth.

The Spaniards had heard such stories from the Indian guides, and when they found the village to be only a small settlement on top of a barren mesa, they turned back tired and discouraged. Even to this day, however, the mesa where the ancient pueblo stood is honeycombed

by holes of treasure seekers, who still have faith in the old legend of hidden wealth.

By odd coincidence, the three villages which were the scenes of the first martyrdoms were all abandoned in later years, while most of the other pueblos which existed at that time are still inhabited by the Indians.

During the century and a quarter that followed the first shedding of the blood of the missionaries, there were only ten deaths.

MISSION RUINS RECALL EARLY DAYS IN WEST

(By Associated Press)

Los Angeles, April 14.—Ruins of twenty-one missions in California, fast crumbling back to the earth from which they were reared by Franciscan fathers more than a century ago, are monuments to the blight of governmental opposition encountered by the Catholic faith in its relations then with official Mexico.

They were built in the first crusade of the church to carry the scriptures into the wilderness of the new world. Almost unendurable hardships were overcome in the establishments of these bulwarks of Christianity by missionaries harassed by hostile Indian bands, fronted by vast stretches of frontier as yet unsafe for the white man and forced to meet sickness and physical hardships with little to buoy them except the great courage and leadership of Father Junipero Serra.

The task of these missionary pioneers had the wavering support of Old Spain and the slender financial backing of the Pious fund, contributed by church leaders in Mexico.

A century of courageous work followed the expedition that sailed for San Diego in 1769. Each of the missions rose to prosperity. Untold numbers of Indians were converted to the faith and taken within the protecting walls of the stately religious stockades.

But all this time the missions stood within the shadow of ultimate destruction. At frequent intervals there was rumbling in official Mexico and hints that the government would not stand by while its territory in this part of the continent was colonized by the Church.

As early as January, 1831, a decree of secularization was issued by the government at Mexico City. A change in governmental administration prevented this being made effective but in November, 1843, the act of secularization was adopted by Governor Figueroa.

The prosperity of the missions began to wither and their decline gathered momentum with the march of time. The priests and the

neophytes dropped away and one at a time the structures began to decay. Roofs fell in and drenching rains slowly washed the unprotected adobe walls back to the earth from which they came.

Many years after secularization, a few of the missions were returned to the padres, but not until after their wealth had been dissipated and their grandeur clouded in decay.

A movement started some years ago by various organizations has resulted in restoration to some degree of the old mission churches but funds have not been available to save the greater number or to restore the church settlements to their former picturesque state. El Camino Real, the King's Highway, along which are many missions, has been incorporated into the state highway system through most of its length and mission sign posts—bells surmounting metal standards—have been erected at intervals to mark the trek of the padres in their journey northward.

DAKOTA INDIANS LEAVE FARMS TO JOIN CARNIVALS

(By Associated Press)

Pine Ridge Agency, S. D., May 7.—The circus and the carnival are on the road again, and officials of South Dakota Indian reservations are making their annual effort to keep their wards from flocking to join the performers under the big tent.

Every spring circuses and carnivals send scouts out here in quest of Indians for pageants and wild west shows, and for every man they seek, a dozen braves respond.

Federal and state officials frown on the recruiting of Indians for traveling shows, but often their pleas are ineffective. The Indian, migratory by nature, is easily beckoned from his little farm. His guardians have no objection to his departure to permanent employment elsewhere, but they have found that when he leaves in the spring to join a carnival, he comes home penniless and throws himself again on the beneficence of the reservations, seeking to reclaim his land.

SIOUX LEGEND OF CREATION TAUGHT BY INDIAN CHIEF

(By Associated Press)

Rapid City, S. D., May 6.—An ancient Sioux legend of the creation is the most popular story in the repertoire of Chauncey Yellowrobe, son of a Rosebud Sioux chieftain and a teacher in the federal Indian school here.

“When the Great Spirit had created his wonderland here of mountains and prairies and streams and trees,” Yellowrobe tells his stu-

dents, "he sought to fashion a human being worthy to enjoy its grandeur. He shaped the clay in his hands, and baked it in his campfire, but when he drew it forth it was pale and had not baked rapidly enough, and he threw it behind him.

"He molded another form, and laid it in the hot ashes, but when he drew it out it was blackened and crisp. So he tossed it to one side. Then he modeled a new figure, even more carefully than before, packed the red coals around it, and when he lifted it from the fire it was red and sound and perfect.

"And he put it into the great wilderness of the west, and it multiplied its kind and was the tenant of the Great Spirit's own garden."

THEOCRACY ONCE TRIED IN ILLINOIS

(By Associated Press)

Bishop Hill, Ill., May 8.—Rearing itself in stark, simple lines, a marble shaft erected here in 1896 is practically the only reminder of a valiant attempt of a persecuted band of Swedish people to found a theocracy here eighty years ago.

This village which once represented the mecca of fifteen hundred emigrants has dwindled to slightly more than 250 people and a post-office and a small railroad station mark it on the map of Illinois.

The monument was placed at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Bishop Hill colony in 1896, which was attended by more than two thousand people—descendants of Eric Janson, founder, and other leaders of the sect.

The inscription reads:

1846

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE HARDY PIONEERS
WHO IN ORDER TO SECURE RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
LEFT SWEDEN, THEIR NATIVE LAND, WITH ALL THE
ENDEARMENTS OF HOME AND KINDRED, AND FOUNDED
BISHOP HILL COLONY
OF THE UNINHABITED PRAIRIES OF ILLINOIS.

*Erected by surviving members and descendants on
the Fiftieth Anniversary, September Twenty-third,
Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-six.*

Eric Janson, the founder, rebelled against the formation of the Swedish Lutheran church. People soon began to flock to his meetings in Sweden and he became known to both civil and ecclesiastical authorities as a powerful religious leader. Inside of three years after begin-

ning his preaching more than a thousand people knew him as a prophet.

Denouncing prevailing religions and authors of religious books their devotional books and the hymn book of the church. His preaching broke homes and brought strife into many families. Persecution and imprisonment followed his triumphant rise to power and he fled from place to place, often disguised in the garb of a woman. He claimed himself a "God-sent prophet," the "restorer of the true doctrine," and the "Vicar of Christ on earth."

Persecution of the followers of Jansen finally forced them to seek a new land where they would be free to practice their religious views and fifteen hundred of them migrated to Illinois in nine different parties. Janson preceded them and established a home three miles south of this village which was founded later.

When the first boatload arrived the prophet went to New York to meet them and led them to Chicago, where they were described by a writer as "erect and firm people, looking always hopeful and contented, though very serious."

From there they set out on foot for their future homes here. Some horses and wagons were used to transport the women and children. Here despite the ravages of disease and the elements, the colony thrived and grew, receiving additions from the homeland from time to time.

Eric Janson was not only the spiritual ruler but the temporal as well. He appeared not to have been the shrewdest of business men for the financial affairs of the colony at times occasioned much hardships.

Janson was finally shot by a former follower. His band became split up into several factions. Many joined the Methodists, others allied themselves with the Second Adventists, others became Shakers, and some followed Swedenberg's teachings. His band in the words of a historian "became a flock without a shepherd, Jansonism was a house upon which the rain fell and the winds blew; and the house fell, for it was not founded upon a rock."

LINCOLN WAS SURVEYOR OF PETERSBURG

(By Associated Press)

Petersburg, Ill., April 24.—Two men seated on nail keps playing a popular old card game, "Old Sledge" or "Seven Up," gave this village its name nearly a century ago.

As one of the scenes of many incidents in the lives of Abraham Lincoln, Peter Cartwright, famous circuit riding preacher, and other men who later gained prominence, the historic city of Petersburg is rich and varied. It is also the burial place of Ann Rutledge, boyhood sweetheart of Abraham Lincoln.

In 1832 Peter Lukins and George Warburton, pioneers, who owned jointly the entire site of the village, became engaged in a dispute as to what name they should give the settlement. Both wished to have their names go down in history. Lukins wanted to call it "Petersburgh," while Warburton argued that "Georgetown" was more suitable.

They agreed to play a game of "Old Sledge" to settle the dispute. Lukins won the game and arising from his nail keg he called out "Petersburgh."

The two men laid out the town and again sat down to wait for the town to grow. Seeing that their settlement wouldn't grow, they became discouraged and sold it to Hezekiah King and John Taylor, two enterprising settlers.

The new owners employed Abraham Lincoln, who was then deputy surveyor of Sangamon County, to re-survey the site. They laid out the town again, and it continued to grow from that time.

The first court house in Petersburg was the scene of many appearances by Lincoln when he was a lawyer. Douglas, Yates and Harris were among the men who pleaded their cases there. The building was supplanted by another one late in the nineteenth century.

Many revival meetings were held by Peter Cartwright in Petersburg. His camp meeting attracted hundreds of people from the village and surrounding country side. He was buried at Pleasant Plains, a few miles from here.

Among the incidents told of the pioneer preacher, one concerns the time when he was threatened with a whipping by two brothers, who accused him of giving their sisters the "jerks" by means of his fiery sermons. One of the accepted spiritual manifestations of that day was a convulsive jerking movement of the head. Two fashionable young ladies were listening to a sermon by Cartwright and suddenly began "jerking."

Cartwright was warned after the meeting that the two brothers awaited him outside with horsewhips. It was said he went boldly out and began to question the two men, who admitted their intentions of whipping him.

"You gave our sisters the jerks out of the vial in your pocket," they said.

Cartwright taking advantage of their credulity whipped out a small vial of peppermint and threatened them, causing them to flee in terror.

A short distance from the village is the cemetery in which Ann Rutledge was buried. A granite stone inscribed with a verse written by the Illinois poet, Edgar Lee Masters, marks the grave.

ASKS LINCOLN MEMORIAL ROAD

(By Associated Press)

Washington, April 23.—Expenditure of two million dollars for a 39-mile Lincoln memorial road in Illinois was asked today in a bill introduced by Representative Rathbone. It would begin at Springfield and would run to Beardstown, passing through Petersburg and Oakford, places intimately connected with Lincoln's life. Sponsors of the road plan markers and other memorial features along its route.

PETERSBURG WAS ONCE COMMUNITY OF CIRCUS PEOPLE

(By Associated Press)

Petersburg, Ill., May 1.—A sagging wooden building sheltering what was once a circus ring is all that remains to remind visitors here that Petersburg was once a city of circus people.

What is left of the building is used for storage while the performers, riders and clowns that lived here in winter are either dead or scattered over the earth following their profession. Many of the most noted and highest paid bareback riders claimed Petersburg as their home. Lady equestrians, trapeze performers, ring masters and equilibrists came home here one by one during the fall when the "big top" of a number of circuses floated to the ground for the last time of the season.

Here they lived in unpretentious homes with their families, sending their children to the public schools and working up acts for the coming season. Some of them accepted contracts for appearances on vaudeville circuits. For those that stayed here an indoor circus was organized.

Edward Shipp, a famous equestrian director and known to circus people as the "Ring Master," acquired a plot of land near his home on which he erected a wooden "tent." It was similar in appearance

to a tent, being round and coming to a peak, the only difference being in its sturdy construction. Near it were stables for housing animals.

Petersburg people enjoyed many evenings of entertainment in Shipp's indoor circus. When his program was arranged and the acts complete, Shipp took his circus to neighboring towns like Springfield and Bloomington where he presented his performances in coliseums and other heated buildings. It has been nearly ten years since the walls of the old building have heard the crack of the ringmaster's whip, and practically all of the circus people are gone.

Among the performers who made their homes here were Mr. Shipp and his wife, herself reputed to be one of the best equestrians of the world; his step-brother, Harry Lambkin, another famous rider; Clorinda Lowanda, Lambkin's wife and daughter of a Spanish rider, and Clarence Lambkin, another circus man. "The Kelly Brothers," Tom, Wood and Dave, also made their homes here when they weren't doing their "broken ladder" act. Silvers, probably one of the best known clowns in the profession a score of years ago, lived here until about ten years ago.

Compiled by Teresa L. Maher

Joliet, Ill.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION,
ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF
AUGUST 24, 1912,

Of ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, published quarterly at Chicago,
Illinois, for April 1, 1926.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, COUNTY OF COOK—SS.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared, Francis J. Rooney, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Illinois Catholic Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.

Editor, Joseph J. Thompson, Chicago, Ill.

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2. That the owner is: The Illinois Catholic Historical Society, Chicago, Ill., Rev. Frederic Siedenburger, S. J., Pres., Chicago, Ill., J. P. V. Murphy, Treas., Chicago, Ill.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:

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FRANCIS J. ROONEY, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of March, 1926.

ANNA ZIMMERMAN, Notary Public.
(My commission expires January, 1927.)

ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME IX

JANUARY, 1927

NUMBER 3

Illinois Catholic Historical Society

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Illinois Catholic Historical Review

Journal of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society

617 ASHLAND BLOCK, CHICAGO

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PUBLISHED BY

THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CHICAGO, ILL.

CONTENTS

ILLINOIS — THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY

Joseph J. Thompson 195

THE JOURNEY OF THE BISHOP OF WALLA WALLA

Raphael N. Hamilton, S. J. 208

THE LIFE OF JAMES MARQUETTE, S. J.

Rev. Henry S. Spalding, S. J. 223

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

Anthony Matr e 247

BISHOP ENGLAND'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH BISHOP ROSATI

Rev. John Rothensteiner 260

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Joseph J. Thompson, William Stetson Merrill 274

INSTITUTIONS CONDUCTED BY THE SISTERS OF ST. FRANCIS OF SPRINGFIELD

Rev. A. Zurbonsen 277

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Illinois Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME IX

JANUARY, 1927

NUMBER 3

ILLINOIS: THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION IN MID-AMERICA

*A Documentary History**

I. DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

How long the red man roamed over the prairies and paddled up and down the rivers of Illinois, and in what numbers he dwelt here before white men came are matters of conjecture and speculation. In various parts of Illinois and other states in the central part of North America, mounds of greater or less dimensions exist, in the bowels of which are found the skeletons of human beings and articles of a handicraft which some ethnologists pronounce of Indian origin, but possibly of a race or races still more remote from the period of authentic history than that which was found here by the first white visitors.¹

Authentic history for this region began when in 1673 Father James Marquette, S. J.,² and Louis Joliet³ with the assistance of three French Canadians paddled in canoes down the Mississippi River as far as the Arkansas, retraced their route to the mouth of the Illinois River and then rowed up that river and its branches or tributaries and the Chicago River to Lake Michigan.

* Beginning with this the first issue of the new year, 1927, we will publish serially a comprehensive documentary history of the Illinois Country. The story has never before been told in its entirety and we think readers will be interested in this accurate narration supported by unquestionable documents and authorities.

¹ The origin of the mounds is still a subject of discussion and disagreement.

² Born at Laon, France, June 10, 1673; entered the Jesuit Order at Nancy, Oct. 8, 1654; arrived at Quebec, Sept. 20, 1666; missionary in Canada, Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois until his death, May 18, 1675.

³ Born at Quebec, Sept. 21, 1645, died in Canada in May, 1700. Attended Jesuit school in Quebec, and received minor orders in 1662. Made many explorations of discovery.

Though this voyage had long been the dream of Father Marquette, it was begun by direction of the government. In an introduction to Marquette's journals written by Father Claude Dablon,⁴ the superior of the missions at the time of Father Marquette's voyages, Father Dablon says:

EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

The Father had long premeditated this undertaking, influenced by a most ardent desire to extend the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and to make Him known and adored by all peoples of that country. He saw himself, as it were, at the door of these new nations when, as early as the year 1670 he was laboring in the Mission at the point of St. Esprit, at the extremity of Lake Superior, among the Ottawas; he even saw occasionally various persons belonging to these new peoples, from whom he obtained all the information that he could. This induced him to make several efforts to commence this undertaking, but in vain; and he even lost all hope of succeeding therein, when God brought about for him the following opportunity.

In the year 1673, Monsieur The Count De Frontenac, our Governor, and Monsieur Talon, then our intendant, recognizing the importance of this discovery,—either that they might seek a passage from here to the sea of China, by the river that discharges into the Vermillion of California Sea; or because they desired to verify what has for some time been said concerning the two Kingdoms of Theguaio and Quiuira, which border on Canada, and in which numerous gold mines are reported to exist,—these gentlemen, I say, appointed at the same time for this undertaking Sieur Jolyet, whom they considered very fit for so great an enterprise, and they were well pleased that Father Marquette should be of the party.

They were not mistaken in the choice that they made of Sieur Jolyet, for he is a young man, born in this country, who possesses all the qualifications that could be desired for such an undertaking. He has experience and knows the languages spoken in the country of the Outaouacs, where he has passed several years. He possesses tact and prudence, which are the chief qualities necessary for the success of a voyage as dangerous as it is difficult. Finally, he has the courage to dread nothing where everything is to be feared. Consequently, he has fulfilled all the expectations entertained of him; and if, after having passed through a thousand dangers, he had not unfortunately been wrecked in the very harbor, his canoe having upset below Sault St. Louys, near Montreal,—where he lost both his men and his papers, and whence he escaped only by a sort of miracle,—nothing would have been left to be desired in the success of his voyage."⁵

THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

The earliest historical documents relating to Illinois are the records which Father Marquette made of this voyage of discovery, and

⁴ See Father Dablon's letter in *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LIX.

⁵ *Jesuit Relations*, Thwaites, Vol. LIX, pp. 87-89.

our history, indeed, the history of the interior of America begins with Father Marquette's relation.⁶

In his relation Father Marquette tells us that it was on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin (December 8, 1672) that:

"Monsieur Jollyet arrived with orders from Monsieur the Count de Frontenac our governor and Monsieur Talon our intendent to accomplish this discovery with me."⁷

and that it was

"On the 17th, day of May 1673 we started from the Mission of St. Ignace at Michillimackinac where I then was."⁸

"I placed our voyage under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, promising her that if she granted us the favor of discovering the great river, I would give it the name of the Conception, and that I would also make the first mission that I should establish among those new places bear the same name. This I have actually done among the Illinois."⁹

REPORT OF THE JOURNEY

The description of the country through which they passed and of the natives they saw on their journey is most interesting. From Michillimackinac they rowed south on Green Bay to the mouth of the Fox River, entering that river they continued southwesterly to its source. They then left the water carrying their canoes and supplies to the head waters of the Wisconsin River, when they again embarked, now upon the Wisconsin, and "safely entered the Mississippi on the 17th of June with a joy that I cannot express."¹⁰

At last the great river that had been the subject of interested speculation for many years amongst the French Canadians who came in contact with the various tribes of Indians had been seen by white men, and Father Marquette exclaims: "Here we are then on this so renowned river."

The journey down the Mississippi as detailed by Father Marquette was most romantic, and will be read with interest by each succeeding generation of men.

⁶ These are reports of the two journeys made into the Illinois Country by Father Marquette, sent to his religious superior and published with an English translation *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LIX.

⁷ Marquette's Journal, *Jesuit Relations*, Thwaites, Vol. LIX, pp. 89-91.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 91.

⁹ *Ibid.* 93.

INTO THE UNKNOWN

The most important incident of the journey to that time occurred on the 25th of June when as Father Marquette states:

“We perceived on the water’s edge some tracks of men and a narrow and somewhat beaten path leading to a fine prairie . . . we therefore left our two canoes under the guard of our people, strictly charging them not to allow themselves to be surprised, after which Monsieur Jolliet and I undertook this investigation—a rather hazardous one for two men who exposed themselves alone to the mercy of a barbarous and unknown people.”¹⁰

Further investigation disclosed a village on the bank of a river, and two others on a hill distant about half a league from the first. After heartily commending themselves to God and imploring His aid, they discovered themselves to the Indian villagers by shouting. Seeing them, the Indians after consultation, deputed four old men to go and speak to them. Approaching, the Indians offered their pipes as a token of peace. “These pipes,” says Marquette, “for smoking tobacco, are called in this country calumets.” At another point in his letter Father Marquette tells us of the calumet.

THE CALUMET OR PEACE PIPE

“There is nothing more mysterious or more respected among them. Less honor is paid to the crowns and sceptres of the kings than savages bestow upon this. It seems to be the God of peace and war, the arbiter of life and of death. It has but to be carried upon ones person and displayed, to enable one to walk safely in the midst of enemies—who, in the hottest of the fight, lay down their arms when it is shown . . . there is a calumet for peace and one for war, which are distinguished solely by the color of the feathers which they are adorned. Red is a sign of war. They also use it to put an end to their disputes; to strengthen their alliances and to speak to strangers. It is fashioned from a red stone, polished like marble and bored in such a manner that one end serves as a receptacle for the tobacco, while the other fits into the stem; this is a stick two feet long, as thick as an ordinary cane and bored through the middle. It is ornamented with the heads and necks of various birds whose plumage is very beautiful. To these also add large feathers—red, green and other colors where-with the whole is adorned. They have a great regard for it because they look upon it as the calumet of the sun; and in fact they offer it to the latter (the sun) to smoke when they wish to obtain a calm or rain or fine weather.”¹²

After offering the calumet, they invited Marquette and Joliet to their village where the chief welcomed them in the flowery language of the forest.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 107.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 115.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 129-131.

“How beautiful the sun is O Frenchman when thou comest to visit us. all our villages await thee and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace.”

And after being feasted the chief again addressed them :

“I thank thee, Black Gown and thee, Frenchman, for having taken so much trouble to come to visit us. Never has the earth been so beautiful, nor the sun so bright as today; never has our river been so calm or so clear of rocks, which your canoes have removed in passing; never has our tobacco tasted so good or our corn appeared so fine as we now see them.”¹²

HIAWATHA'S WELCOME

Longfellow has immortalized this visit of Marquette's to the Indian village, which investigators think was located near what is now the city of Des Moines, Iowa, in his *Hiawatha* :

“It was neither goose nor diver,
Neither pelican nor heron,
O'er the water floating, flying,
Through the shining mist of morning,
But a birch canoe with paddles,
Rising, sinking on the water,
Dripping, flashing in the sunshine;
And within it came a people
From the distant land of Wabun,
From the farthest realms of morning
Came the Black-Robe chief, the Prophet,
He the Priest of Prayer, the Pale-face,
With his guides and his companions.
And the noble Hiawatha,
With his hands aloft extended,
Held aloft in sign of welcome,
Waited, full of exultation,
Till the birch canoe with paddles
Grated on the shining pebbles,
Stranded on the sandy margin,
Till the Black-Robe chief, the Pale-face,
With the cross upon his bosom,
Landed on the sandy margin.
Then the joyous Hiawatha
Cried aloud and spake in this wise:
“Beautiful is the sun, O strangers,
When you come so far to see us!
All our town in peace awaits you,
All our doors stand open for you;;
You shall enter all our wigwams,
For the heart's right hand we give you.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 121.

"Never beamed the earth so gayly,
 Never shone the sun so brightly,
 As to-day they shine and blossom
 When you come so far to see us!
 Never was our lake so tranquil,
 Nor so free from rocks and sand bars;
 For your birch canoe in passing
 Has removed both rock and sand-bar.
 "Never before had our tobacco
 Such a sweet and pleasant flavor,
 Never the broad leaves of our cornfields
 Were so beautiful to look on,
 As they seem to us this morning,
 When you come so far to see us!"

And the Black-Robe chief made answer,
 Stammered in his speech a little,
 Speaking words yet unfamiliar:
 "Peace be with you, Hiawatha,
 Peace be with you, and your people,
 Peace of prayer, and peace of pardon,
 Peace of Christ, and joy of Mary!"
 Then the generous Hiawatha
 Led the strangers to his wigwam,
 Seated them on skins of bison,
 Seated them on skins of ermine,
 And the careful, old Nokomis
 Brought them food in bowls of basswood,
 Water brought in birchne dippers,
 And the calumet, the peace-pipe,
 Filled and lighted for their smoking.
 All the old men of the village,
 All the warriors of the nation,
 All the Jossakeeds, the prophets,
 The magicians, the Wabenos,
 And the medicine-men, the Hedas,
 Came to bid the strangers welcome;;
 "It is well," they said, "O brothers,
 That you come so far to see us!"
 In a circle round the doorway,
 With their pipes they sat in silence,
 Waiting to behold the strangers,
 Waiting to receive their message;
 Till the Black-Robe chief, the Pale-face,
 From the wigwam came to greet them,
 Stammering in his speech a little,
 Speaking words yet unfamiliar;;
 "It is well," they said, "O brother,
 That you came so far to see us!"
 Then the Black-Robe chief, the prophet,
 Told his message to the people,

Told the purpose of his mission,
 Told them of the Virgin Mary,
 And her blessed Son, the Savior,
 How in distant lands and ages
 He had lived on earth as we do;
 How he fasted, prayed, and labored;
 How the Jews, the tribe accursed,
 Mocked him, scourged him, crucified him;
 How he rose from where they laid him,
 Walked again with his disciples,
 And ascended into heaven.
 And the chiefs made answer, saying:
 "We have listened to your message,
 We have heard your words of wisdom,
 We will think on what you tell us.
 It is well for us, O brothers,
 That you come so far to see us!"
 Then they rose up and departed
 Each one homeward to his wigwam,
 To the young men and the women
 Told the story of the strangers
 Whom the Master of Life had sent them
 From the shining land of Wabun."

Taking leave of their Indian hosts, and loaded down with presents, the most precious of which was an elaborately decorated calumet, Marquette and Joliet again entered their canoes and paddled on down the Mississippi. The explorer's comment as he made this early voyage tracing the boundary of our state is most interesting:

VIEWING ILLINOIS

"We take leave of our Illinois at the end of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon. We embark in the sight of all the people, who admire our little canoe for they have never seen any like them.

We descended, following the current of the river called Pekitanoui which discharges into the Mississippi, flowing from the Northeast. I shall have something important to say about it when I shall have related all that I observed along this river.

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

While passing near the rather high rocks that line the river, I noticed a simple plant which seemed to me very extraordinary. The root is like small turnips fastened together by little filaments, which taste like carrots. From the root springs a leaf as wide as one's hand, and half as thick, with spots. From the middle of this leaf spring other leaves resembling the scones used for candles in our halls; and each leaf bears five or six yellow flowers shaped like little bells.

We found quantities of mulberries, as large as those of France, and a small fruit which we at first took for olives, but which tasted like oranges, and another fruit as large as a hen's egg. We cut it in halves, and two divisions appeared, in each of which eight to ten fruits were encased; these are shaped like almonds, and are very good when ripe. Nevertheless, the tree that bears them has a very bad odor, and its leaves resemble those of the walnut-tree. In these prairies there is also a fruit similar to hazelnuts, but more delicate; the leaves are very large, and grow from a stalk at the end of which is a head similar to that of a sunflower, in which all its nuts are regularly arranged. These are very good, both cooked and raw.¹⁴

THE PIASA OR THUNDER BIRD

While skirting some rocks, which by their height and length inspired awe, we saw upon one of them two painted monsters which at first made us afraid, and upon which the boldest savages dare not long rest their eyes. They are as large as a calf; they have horns on their heads like those of deer, a horrible look, red eyes, a beard like a tigress, a face somewhat like a man's, a body covered with scales, and so long a tail that it winds around the body, passing above the head and going back between the legs, ending in a fish's tail. Green, red, and black are the three colors composing the picture. Moreover, these two monsters are so well painted that we cannot believe that any savage is their author; for good painters in France would find it difficult to paint so well and besides, they are so high up on the rock that it is difficult to reach that place conveniently to paint them. Here is approximately the shape of these monsters as we have faithfully copied it. (Father Marquette made a rough sketch on the margin of his letter.)

While conversing about these monsters, sailing quietly in clear and calm water, we heard the noise of a rapid, into which we were about to run. I have seen nothing more dreadful. An accumulation of large and entire trees, branches and floating islands was issuing from the mouth of the river Pekitanoui, with such impetuosity that we could not without great danger risk passing through it. So great was the agitation that the water was very muddy and could not become clear.

THE MISSOURI RIVER

Pekitanoui is a river of considerable size, coming from the northwest from a great distance, and it discharges into the Mississippi. There are many villages along this river, and I hope by its means to discover the Vermillion or California Sea.

Let us resume our route, after escaping as best as we could from the dangerous rapid caused by the obstruction which I have mentioned.

THE WABASH (OHIO) RIVER

After proceeding about twenty leagues straight to the south and a little less to the southeast, we found ourselves at a river called Ouaboukigou; the mouth

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

of which is at the 36th degree of latitude. Before reaching it, we passed by a place that is dreaded by the savages, because they believe that a manitou is there, that is to say, a demon that devours travellers, and the savages who wished to divert us from our undertaking warned us against it. This is the demon: there is a small cove surrounded by rocks twenty feet high, into which the whole current of the river rushes, and being checked by an island near by, the current is compelled to pass through a narrow channel. This is not done without a violent struggle between all these waters, which force one another back, or without a great din which inspires terror in the savages who fear everything. But this did not prevent us from passing and arriving at Waboukigou.”¹⁶

The narrative of this journey is a very distinct picture of the Mississippi River and the adjoining lands of Iowa, Missouri and a part of Arkansas on the other side; and when the narrator arrives at that point in the description of the return journey where the canoes are pushed into the Illinois River, the interest in the narrative is, if possible, heightened.

UP THE ILLINOIS RIVER

It was on the 17th of July that the discoverers began retracing their steps from the Arkansas, and it must have been somewhere in the neighborhood of August 10th that they entered the Illinois River. At the very first entrance into the state, a fine tribute is called forth from Father Marquette:

“We have seen nothing like this river that we enter” says he, “as regards its fertility of soil, its prairies and woods; its cattle, elk, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, parroquets and even beaver. There are many small lakes and rivers. That on which we sailed is wide, deep and still for 65 leagues.”¹⁷

The first stop which Father Marquette records was at the Indian village of the Peoria tribe of the Illinois nation of Indians near what is now the city of Peoria. Here Father Marquette preached the Gospel for the first time on Illinois soil, and for three days continued to instruct the savages. Here too, for the first time was a Christian ceremony performed within the boundaries of what is now Illinois.

“While we were embarking” says Father Marquette, “a dying child was brought to me at the water’s edge and I baptized it shortly before it died, through an admirable act of Providence for the salvation of that innocent soul.”¹⁸

It may be confidently believed that the soul of this little savage became a shining light in the heavens for the inspiration of every one

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 161.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 163.

of God's messengers and ministers thereafter devoting himself to His service in Illinois.

LA VANTUM, THE VILLAGE OF THE KASKASKIAS

Gratified and consoled by his visit to the Peorias, and the opportunity to release a precious soul from thralldom, Father Marquette and his companions pushed on up the Illinois, and shortly thereafter arrived at the village of the Kaskaskia Indians, another tribe of the Illinois nation, consisting of seventy cabins.¹⁹ "They received us very well," said Marquette, "and obliged me to promise that I would return to instruct them." This promise Marquette faithfully fulfilled as detailed in the next chapter.

From his village "one of the chiefs of the nation, with his young men, escorted us to the Lake of the Illinois," (Lake Michigan) says Father Marquette, "whence at last at the end of September we reached the Bay Despuants (Green Bay) from which we had started at the beginning of June."

This significant reflection, added to the absorbing narrative, gives the key to Father Marquette's endeavors. "Had this voyage," says he, "resulted in the salvation of even one soul, I would consider all my troubles well rewarded, and I have reason to presume that such is the case."²⁰ His assurance resulted from the fortuitous baptism at Peoria of the dying Indian child.

JOLIET'S REPORT OF THE VOYAGE

As has been stated, Joliet's report and the charts were lost, but Father Dablon has given us some very interesting information as to what the report contained. Referring to the countries discovered, Father Dablon says Joliet's report contained the following observations:

"At first, when we were told of these treeless lands, I imagined that it was a country ravaged by fire, where the soil was so poor that it could produce nothing. But we have certainly observed the contrary; and no better soil can be found, either for corn, for vines, or for any other fruit whatever.

THE SITE OF CHICAGO

"The river which we named for Saint Louis, which rises near the lower end of the lake of the Illinois, (Illinois River) seemed to me the most beautiful, and most suitable for settlement. The place at which we entered the lake (mouth

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

of Chicago River) is a harbor very convenient for receiving vessels and sheltering them from the wind. The river (Illinois River) is wide and deep, abounding in catfish and sturgeon. Game is abundant there; oxen, cows, stags, does, and turkeys are found there in greater numbers than elsewhere. For a distance of eighty leagues, I did not pass a quarter of an hour without seeing some.

THE PRAIRIES OF ILLINOIS

“There are prairies three, six, ten, and twenty leagues in length, and three in width, surrounded by forests of the same extent; beyond these, the prairies begin again, so that there is as much of one sort of land as of the other. Sometimes we saw the grass very short, and, at other times, five or six feet high; hemp, which grows naturally there, reaches a height of eight feet.

AGRICULTURAL ADVANTAGES

“A settler would not there spend ten years in cutting down and burning the trees; on the very day of his arrival, he could put his plow into the ground. And, if he had no oxen from France, he could use those of this country, or even the animals possessed by the Western Savages, on which they ride, as we do on horses.

“After sowing grain of all kinds, he might devote himself especially to planting the vine, and grafting fruit trees; to dressing ox-hides, wherewith to make shoes; and with the wool of these oxen he could make cloth, much finer than most of that which we bring from France. Thus he would easily find in the country his food and clothing, and nothing would be wanting except salt; but, he could make provision for it, it would not be difficult to remedy that inconvenience.”²¹

Having been fully advised of the journey of discovery, Father Dablon makes several observations and suggestions relating to its significance:

“While waiting for the journal of that voyage,” says Father Dablon, “we may make the following remarks regarding the utility of this discovery.”

A FRUITFUL FIELD FOR THE GOSPEL

The first is, that it opens up to us a great field for the preaching of the Faith, and gives us entrance to very numerous peoples, who are very docile, and well disposed to receive it; for they manifested a great desire to obtain the Father as soon as possible, and received with much respect the first words of life which he announced to them. The altogether diverse languages of these tribes do not frighten our missionaries; some of them already know and make themselves under-

²¹ *Ibid.* Vol. LVIII. pp. 105-108.

²² *Ibid.* pp. 105-108.

stood in that of the Illinois, the first savages who are encountered (upon the river). It is among them that Father Marquette will begin to establish the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

THE VASTNESS OF THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED TERRITORY

The second remark concerns the terminus of this discovery. The Father and Sieur Jolliet have no doubt that it is toward the Gulf of Mexico—that is, Florida. For eastward there can only be Virginia, the sea-coast of which is, at most, at 34 degrees of latitude; while they went as low as 33, and still had not come within fifty leagues of the sea, to the west. Likewise, it cannot be the Vermilion Sea, because their route, which was nearly always towards the south, took them away from that sea. There remains therefore only Florida, which is midway between both; and it is certainly most probable that the river, which geographers trace, and call Saint Esprit, is the Mississippi, on which our French navigated.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DISCOVERY

The third remark is that, as it would have been highly desirable that the terminus of that discovery should prove to be the Vermilion Sea,—which would have given at the same time access to the Sea of Japan and of China,—so, also, we must not despair of succeeding in that other discovery of the western sea by means of the Mississippi. For, ascending to the northwest by the river which empties into it at the 38th degree, as we have said, perhaps one would reach some lake, which will discharge its waters toward the west. It is this that we seek, and it is all the more to be desired, because all these countries abound in lakes and are intersected by rivers, which offer wonderful communications between these countries, as the reader may judge.

ADVANTAGEOUS ROUTES OF TRAVEL—A CANAL SUGGESTED

The fourth remark concerns a very great and important advantage, which perhaps will hardly be believed. It is that we could go with facility to Florida in a bark, and by very easy navigation. It would only be necessary to make a canal by cutting through but half a league of prairie, to pass from the foot of the lake of the Illinois to the River Saint Louis. Here is the route that would be followed: The bark would be built on Lake Erie, which is near Lake Ontario; it would easily pass from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, whence it would enter Lake Illinois. At the end of that lake the canal or excavation of which I have spoken would be made, to gain a passage

into the River Saint Louis, which falls into the Mississippi. The bark, when there, would easily sail to the Gulf of Mexico. Fort Catarokouy, which Monsieur de Frontenac has had built on Lake Ontario, would greatly promote that undertaking; for it would facilitate communication between Quebec and Lake Erie, from which that fort is not very distant. And even, were it not for a waterfall separating Lake Erie from Lake Ontario, a bark built at Catarokouy could go to Florida by the routes that I have just mentioned.

The fifth remark refers to the great advantages that would accrue from the establishment of new colonies, in countries so beautiful and upon lands so fertile. Let us see what the Sieur Joliet says of them, for this is his project.²²

(To Be Continued)

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON, LL. D.

Chicago, Illinois.

THE JOURNEY OF THE BISHOP OF WALLA WALLA

In 1847 a party of Canadian missionaries headed by the Right Rev. A. M. A. Blanchet, Bishop of Walla Walla and brother of Archbishop Blanchet of Oregon City, journeyed over the Oregon Trail to their future field of apostolic labor in the Far West. A journal of this trip, from the pen of Bishop Blanchet, appeared in the Canadian periodical, *Rapport sur les Missions du Diocese de Quebec*, Mars, 1851, No. 9, pp. 1.28. This valuable contribution to the literature of the Oregon Trail is here presented for the first time in an English dress, the translation having been prepared for the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW by Mr. Raphael N. Hamilton, S. J., of St. Louis University. Interest in the great historic Western highway of other days is perennial and the narrative which follows will be found second to none of the published first-hand accounts in graphic portrayal of the romance and adventure inseparable from its history.

The Report of the Missions of the Diocese of Quebec, published in 1849, stated that Mgr. A. M. A. Blanchet, having left Montreal March 4 on the way to his diocese of Walla Walla, had safely terminated his trip with the commencement of October of the same year. We are pleased to be able to reproduce several successive letters from the missionary prelate, which will furnish some interesting details of his journey. The first commences with Mgr. Blanchet at Pittsburgh, Pa., which city stands on the site of Fort Duquesne, near which, in 1754, the Canadian troops, aided by Indian allies, defeated the Anglo-American army under the command of General Braddock.

LETTER 1

“St. Pierre de Waskapom
January 10, 1850

“My dear friend: April 3 [1847]. We had been away from Montreal for twelve days and had come 260 leagues. The cost for rent of wagons had been 31 dollars a person.

“Early in the morning we betook ourselves to the episcopal palace, where Mgr. O'Connor received us most cordially. We were obliged to lodge with him all the time we remained in his episcopal city. His kindness, his regard and his thoughtfulness were well suited to make the days seem short which we spent at his palace. Oregon, however, was yet far distant.

“Pittsburgh is situated at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela, almost like Quebec with regard to the St. Lawrence and River St. Charles. The mingled waters of the two streams take the name of the Ohio. Dwelling in Pittsburgh is rather unpleasant because of the smoke. This is caused by the use of coal as exclusive fuel for both factories and private homes.

“Mgr. O'Connor took me to see the German Church served by the Redemptorists. Also, with him, I went through the hospital of the Sisters of Charity, which is kept as neat as any of our institutions of the same sort in Canada. The Cathedral, of brick, had formerly a good location, but some years ago the City Corporation graded the streets, leaving it so high above the level that it must

be demolished. Nevertheless the corporation seems not inclined to give any indemnity.

"I was kept at Pittsburgh longer than I wished. Capt. Lemay had the kindness to hunt up a steamer for our trip to St. Louis, Missouri. To this purpose we have engaged the *Pioneer* at the moderate rate of eight dollars a person. I say 'moderate rate' because there are not fewer than four hundred leagues between Pittsburgh and St. Louis by way of the Ohio river. The captain, despite his fair promise of departure on Tuesday, did not take to the river before Thursday.

"April 8. Thursday. We said goodbye to the pious and hospitable Bishop and set sail on the Ohio. This river flows tranquilly between two chains of hills, and affords one new panorama after another. Its shores are dotted with innumerable towns and the soil of the fields appears fertile. But, to be frank, it winds about too much to please a pilgrim missionary, especially one on his way to Oregon.

"April 10. At nine o'clock we were at Cincinnati, 475 miles from Pittsburgh. I called on Mgr. Purcell. He has an episcopal residence and a beautiful Cathedral. I found out later that he had contracted a considerable debt in building these.

"He took it upon himself to go with me to the Sisters of N. D. and the Jesuits. Rev. Father Elet, who is the president of the College, tells me that Father De Smet will not return to Oregon. He has to establish missions East of the Rocky Mountains.

"April 11. (Quasimodo.) We were at Louisville (615 miles from Pittsburgh). Mgr. Flaget, patriarch of the Bishop of the Baltimore ecclesiastical province, received us most cordially, so also did his coadjutor, Mgr. Chabrat, who is administrator of the diocese. I assisted at vespers and gave Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. I was really hurt not to see any choir-boys for the ceremonies.

"Mgr. Chabrat is one of three missionaries who have labored in Kentucky for thirty-nine years. His eyes are very weak and he intends to go and ask the Holy See for the privilege of resigning.¹ The Bishop of Louisville and the other American bishops whom I have met seem convinced that they should not intrust their seminaries to Religious if they are to form a secular clergy. Naturally the Fathers win the affection of their students and the latter are drawn to enter the order.

"Toward evening we resume our journey. The Americans with whom we have mingled are courteous and thoughtful. But in general they have a habit which is not exactly to my taste. It is that whenever they sit down near a convenient prop of any sort they invariably put their feet upon it at the same level with their heads.

"On board the steamer were two Indians. One passed himself off as chief of five nations. He was returning, he said, from Washington, where he had sold their lands to the Government. We found out later that they were two ordinary lazy tramps who travel in disguise to make a living off their hosts.

"April 14. At 7 a. m. we were at Cairo, a town made up of a hotel and a few houses scattered here and there. We have a trip of less than two hundred miles on the Mississippi before we come to St. Louis. About 3 o'clock we passed Cape Girardeau, where there is a church, convent, and college.

¹ Mgr. Chabrat did finally resign and was replaced by Mgr. M. Spalding, at present Bishop of Bardstown. Mgr. Flaget, almost 90 years old, died in Jan., 1850.

“April 15. Like the Ohio, the Mississippi is thickly sown with islands, but it does not wind so much. As we ascended, we came on perpendicular cliffs of stone, but the banks are usually low between Cairo and St. Louis.

“Finally at 6 o'clock we put foot on shore at St. Louis. My next will tell you what took place from the time of my arrival in St. Louis until my departure for Kansas Landing. Your devoted servant,

“THE BISHOP OF WALLA WALLA.”

LETTER 2

“St. Pierre de Waskapom,
January 12, 1850.

“Dear friend: Mgr. Kenrick, Bishop of St. Louis (now Archbishop), was determined to have the merit of caring for me and my priests. When I accepted his hospitality I thought we should be only a few days in St. Louis, otherwise I would have begged him not to go to the trouble. At his residence I found Mgr. Barron, Bishop of Eucarpia *in partibus infidelium*, Vicar Apostolic of Upper and Lower Guinea on the West Coast of Africa. He had lived there a year and a half. Of seven missionaries who had come to the Vicariate Apostolic with him six had died shortly after their arrival. As for the prelate, feeble health had forced him to resign.

“Twenty-four days have passed since we said farewell to Montreal. I was badly mistaken in my calculation with regard to the time at which I should be in St. Louis. I am behind, for I find that some emigrants are already to depart. At St. Louis, I had expected to find persons capable of giving me instructions about the trip over prairies and mountains as well as about everything which I should have to buy. St. Louis, however, is not the point of departure. Hence I have been here several days without making any progress in my affairs.

“Finally, April 22, Mr. Brouillet set out on horseback to buy the necessary animals. He intended to go by land as far as Kansas Landing. A workman was preparing our wagons, while Messrs. Lamoureux and Blanchard, Canadian merchants, undertook to secure provisions, etc., etc.

“When I got to St. Louis I was no longer thinking of Rev. Father Ricard nor of his companions, for I supposed that when they got to Havre, they had received the order to delay, which the Archbishop of Oregon City had sent, and had taken passage on the ship, which was to transport His Grace and his suite. I was so completely under this impression that I did not send to New York a letter of directions which I had written Father Ricard from Montreal. It asked him to send two of his companions to Montreal. What was my surprise, then, the morning of the sixteenth to see Father Ricard in the Bishop's house. He reported the happy arrival of all his band! Immediately I began to worry for I couldn't see how I could take so large a number of persons with me. Here I was with fourteen travelling companions! To send some of them to Montreal would be throwing money away; and what would be the chance of their returning later on? Everything taken into consideration it seemed best to me to leave no one behind; hence arrangements were made. The Jesuits became hosts of the Oblates.

“My prolonged stay in St. Louis afforded an opportunity to become acquainted with its religious establishments. I was able to visit the Sisters of Charity, who take care of the insane and infirm of both sexes; the Madams of the Sacred Heart, whose institution I was pleased to see; and finally the Sisters of the Visitation, where I said Mass and found some thirty novices.

“The services at the Cathedral are carried out in an edifying manner. At 9 o'clock, Mass, followed by an instruction, is said for the French. High Mass is chanted, at ten, accompanied by French songs and music. Vespers are chanted regularly. Something, however, is wanting as no one is there for the ceremonies. The whole choir consists of five or six choir-boys.

“The third Sunday after Easter, I went to St. Joseph's, a chapel built by a German Congregation and served by the Jesuit Fathers. There I confirmed sixty persons. Afterwards I assisted at the Mass in the parish church, where I confirmed seventy-four. This church, under the invocation of St. Francis Xavier, is next to the Jesuits' College, and cared for by them.

“The population of St. Louis, which in 1820 was but 4,598; in 1830, 6,802; in 1840, 24,580; increased in 1847 to 48,000. The Catholics are in the majority; nevertheless priests take off their cassocks whenever they go abroad.

“Since leaving Pittsburgh the weather has been very agreeable, but at St. Louis the heat was a bit oppressive. Nevertheless, we didn't sigh for the climate of Montreal as much as we did over the distance which separated us from Walla Walla. We longed for the moment of departure. A certain Mr. Murphy had made ready three wagons, two of which were for baggage, and cost eighty dollars a piece. The third, lighter and intended for passengers, cost seventy-five. The tents and provisions were ready. Our expenditures already amounted to \$1,000 and we had still to pay a good round sum for the animals. The money which I had brought would not suffice. I was forced to get a letter of exchange for the greater part of the funds which I had left in the hands of my procurator at Montreal. I was dreaming, when I counted on this to get things started at Walla Walla. Providence would have to provide there; in it I placed my confidence.

“The steamboat *Tamerlane* should take us to Kansas for eight dollars; baggage extra at the rate of 36 cents per hundred pounds. Well, including the wagons, everything weighed 8,150 pounds.

“April 17. Everything being ready, we said our 'good-byes' to their Lordships and Bishops of St. Louis and Eucarpia and embarked at 9 a. m.; but it was only to waste the day at the dock, for it was 8 p. m. when we finally cast off. Shortly after we were steaming up the Missouri.

“This river is most irregular and changeable in its course. Each year the channel shifts. Where it formerly was, one sees green trees today. At this season the water was very low. Here and there one might see stumps and whole trunks of trees in mid stream. Frequently the boat went aground on a sand bank, but we got it off easily. Only once were two captains needed to get out of the difficulty.

“As on the Ohio we saw numerous towns, among others St. Charles, forty miles by river from St. Louis; and one hundred and seventy-five miles off, Jefferson City, the State Capital, a growing town of little importance. Further up are Providence and Glasgow. In this last place and near it are several Catholic families. Without ever seeing a priest, they become indifferent, ashamed of their faith and finish by losing it entirely. Would that this were the only place where the absence of priests brought about these sad results! Travelling missionaries such as we have in Canada could overcome this sore evil; but they haven't the money in many dioceses and probably not the missionaries either.

"May 1. After a four days' trip during which we had covered about 381 miles, we came to Kansas. This town, just coming into existence, numbers eight houses, some of which are not yet finished. At Kansas and in the neighborhood there are one hundred and eighty Catholics, almost all Canadians. They have a frame chapel a mile from town. Rev. Mr. Donnelly is their resident pastor and visits several neighboring missions. Mrs. Chouteau, a widow, and a good fervent Catholic, seems to be the soul of this colony. We lodged at a hotel kept by a fanatical Methodist; however, his conduct toward us was entirely satisfactory.

"May 2. Sunday. Having made up the sleep lost on the trip we had services in the chapel. Father Ricard sang the Mass and gave an instruction. The vespers were chanted as never before in this part of the country. How happy these poor people were to have us with them. Their missionary is full of zeal, but he doesn't speak French very well, which keeps many of them away from Confession. I had Father Ricard give them a mission, which almost all attended.

"May 4. Since Mr. Brouillet had not come, I began to worry. He came at last on May 4. Although he had gone to great pains, he had been far from having the success which he had hoped for in St. Louis. He had found only eight yoke of oxen, two cows and three horses. Moreover, several of the oxen were not very good. Hence, we had to buy three yokes right away and two more during our subsequent trip, that is to say a few days after our departure.

"May 7. We went over to Westport, about four miles from Kansas. There we had to make our last travelling preparations while waiting for Mr. Wiggins, to whom I was introduced at St. Louis as a man capable of being of service to us.

"I am' etc. etc.

"THE BISHOP OF WALLA WALLA."

LETTER 3

"St. Pierre, Jan. 13, 1849.

"Dear friend: Packing the wagons at Kansas and going to Westport were sadly disagreeable undertakings. Our hired men were absolutely inexperienced in driving teams of six or eight oxen hitched to the same wagon. They were all novices at the job, and what made matters worse was that some of our animals had never felt a collar before. Early the eighth our belongings were stowed away in the wagons, and we waited for our travelling companion, Mr. Wiggins, at Westport. This individual was returning to California whence he had come the preceding year. We thought to travel together at least to Fort Hall. He was to have been accompanied by a man who knew perfectly the route over which we had to go. Unfortunately this guide did not show up.

"About three or four o'clock we were ready to leave Westport. Wiggins took the lead to show us the route. A Spaniard, who was an old hand at the job, drove his oxen with marvelous skill. As for us, we couldn't budge! They shouted and beat the poor animals again and again . . . not a sign of moving. They unhitched them, putting the leaders near the wagon . . . it made no difference. When they did move it was to jerk to the side of the road and go for the open. Finally an American, touched with compassion, took the whip and got the oxen started. To make our luck worse there are some bad places on the road which we were taking and our animals either would not or could not cross them. We hitched four or five pair of oxen to one wagon. It was useless! Another Yankee took pity on us and easily drove our teams over the seemingly

impassible place. He well earned 'four bits';² because without him we should have been obliged to spend the night in the middle of a woods only a few hundred yards from Westport. After three hours' work we had gone about a half a league (1½ miles); but we were on a good road with level prairies stretching away before us. When sun set, we were ready to camp.

"Our friend (Wiggins) had waited for a while, but he got tired and went on ahead. Since we could find no wood where we were, necessity made us march on. A new difficulty! Two roads presented themselves! Which should we take? We took the one to the right, which led us into a bad gully where we stopped because of the darkness. The animals were set loose on the prairie. After a light supper I named guards for the night and lay down on my blanket about ten o'clock. I slept well till midnight, but then came restlessness and worry, which I was unable to overcome. I could count no more on wiggins. I did not know the road . . . a thousand other tormenting suggestions assailed me. Hope in God's protection, over those who are called to do His work, was the only thing which kept my courage alive.

"May 9. At six o'clock Wiggins appeared. He said he had taken the wrong road and that he was going a mile ahead to spend the day. As it was Sunday, we wished to celebrate Mass. However, I gave the order to hitch up and follow our pretended guide. It was impossible! Our wagons got stuck in a mud-hole whence there was no hope of dragging them unless they were completely unpacked. Our friend didn't stop and we lost sight of him a second time. Next we had to go down some steep hills by a straight road through some woods. I took the lead to reconnoitre and went ahead several miles. On the return trip I discovered a wagon at some distance; also that we were but two miles from Westport; and that we should have taken the road which passes to the north of the Methodist Mission when we would have made the trip without trouble and in less than an hour. I set off toward the wagon accompanied by the person who gave me this information. Sure enough, I found Wiggins. Then I went back to lead the wagons to his camp. We did not rejoin him until about 3 o'clock, worn out and half dead. I need hardly tell you that I could not think of celebrating Mass.

"After a meal which served for both breakfast and dinner I set out with Mr. Brouillet for Kansas, telling my comrades to pray fervently. When I got there I realized that God was caring for us. Joseph Huneau was recommended to me as a clever fellow, experienced in driving oxen and a good guide. For one hundred dollars, a horse, saddle and gun he agreed to lead the caravan, taking full charge as far as Fort Hall.

"May 10. The following day we returned to the camping grounds, thanking God for the successful outcome of our trip to Kansas.

"I have neglected to say that it is useless to undertake the journey to Oregon without a number of horses. They are a necessity every morning, for rounding up the oxen which often scatter far apart. But for myself there was another good reason. Our party couldn't all ride in the wagons. I bought five horses and they were of the greatest service on our trip. The cost for oxen, cows, horses, harness, yokes, and collars went above eight hundred dollars. Unfortunately, a portion of all these items were useless when we got to Oregon. You see, my friend, how much it costs to travel across prairie and mountain with a company as numerous as mine! I am your devoted servant,

"THE BISHOP OF WALLA WALLA."

² A bit is fifteen cents.

LETTER 4

“St. Pierre, Jan. 14, 1850.

“Dear friend: I’m shivering as I take up my pen. The last two nights have been like those in Canada at this season. The cold is very sharp. My room, which is closed off from the rest of the house by hay mats and curtains, is not much of a protection from the cold and frost. Last year we had scarcely any snow and the cold was negligible. This winter it is entirely different. I fear very much that we shall lose some of our stock, because the poor beasts have for fodder only the grass which is covered by a foot and a half of snow and their only stable is the dome of heaven.

“Let us continue the story of our trip across the prairies.

“May 12. As I told you, after a day of travel and fatigue, we found ourselves only two or three miles from Westport, but at least it didn’t cost us anything to feed the cattle. You see we were on the prairie beyond the border of the State of Mississippi [sic]. Finally on the thirteenth we left the mission. We were joined by a young Mr. Grant, who was returning to his father, associated with the Hudsons Bay Company, and living at Fort Hall. We passed over vast prairies, which afforded abundant pasturage to the animals. Now and then we forded small streams; since wood was to be found in plenty along their banks, we took advantage of such places for our camping grounds.

“The fourteenth and fifteenth we crossed the Rock River, which one could make at a jump, and the Wakourousse [Wakarusa], ten rods wide.

“May 17. Five days after our departure we were at the Kansas River, having covered eighty-five miles.³ Some half-breeds told us that on horseback one may easily make the trip from Westport in a day. This seems reasonable to me because with wagons one is forced to keep to the high ground to avoid bad places.

“May 18. Since the Kansas River was low, we crossed it without difficulty. We went into camp on Soldier River, a tributary to the Kansas. There I received the visit of Kakinga, chief of the Kansas Indians. After the hand shakes came the presents. Since this was the first visit of the kind, I was very liberal and gave him crackers, coffee, sugar, tobacco, medals, etc.

“May 20. We forded the Big Vermillion. The Americans of our party had elected Wiggins captain. They were so worried by the proximity of the savages that they mounted guard during the night.

“We were at Rock River when the organization of our company was completed. Some of the rules which were adopted were worse than ridiculous; e. g., every Indian was forbidden to enter camp or to follow the road which we were taking; if he refused to get out at once, we were supposed to fire at him. Being unable to subscribe to such rules, we left the company on the following day; but it was only to go a few miles, for we had the misfortune to break an axle. Hence, the vigil of Pentecost was made a day of rest. A wagon maker was found in a caravan which happened to camp near us, the mishap was taken care of and next day we were ready to go again.

“May 25. We came to Bonneville River, about ten rods wide. The banks are so steep that we had to hold back the wagons with ropes.

³I believe an ox pulling a load ordinarily goes two miles per hour, provided the roads are good. At least that was the calculation I used during the trip.

“May 26. For several days we had been in sight of Capt. McGowan’s caravan. At his invitation we joined his party. We did it the more willingly since there might be danger in those parts to us travelling alone. After crossing Flet River we spent the night on the bank of the Big Blue. It is about fourteen miles from this river to where the St. Joseph trail strikes the Westport road, the one we had been following. The twenty-ninth we camped on the Big Sandy where we experienced a sudden downpour accompanied with thunder and lightning.

“May 30. We ate antelope meat for the first time. It is an animal resembling a deer in form but slightly smaller. We struck the Little Blue, which we had to follow for three days. It is twelve to seventeen rods wide and empties into the Kansas.

“May 31. As this day was the last of the month, Mass was said and there was general communion for the closing of the Month of Mary, which we celebrated in union with our brethren in Canada. Mr. Brouillet had to hunt up Dr. Fourgeau for one of our men who was sick. This doctor, a true gentleman, had left St. Louis, where he was highly thought of, to seek his fortune in California. Whenever we had need of his services, he was on hand.

“June 2. We left the Little Blue to strike out for the Nebraska or Platte River. It is customary before leaving the Little Blue to lay in a supply of axles and yokes because from there to Fort Laramie one doesn’t find suitable wood from which to make them.

“June 3. La Fete Dieu [Corpus Christi] was celebrated under tents by the Holy Sacrifice and vespers. It was a day of rest for the pack animals. Moreover, advantage was taken of the opportunity to frame some rules for the security of the convoy. Six companies of ten men each were formed to keep guard; and it was expressly forbidden to shoot guns at night without grave necessity. Next Captain McGowan invited the Bishop and his clergy to come to the meeting to hear the unanimous declaration that they were exempted from guard mount *in consideration of their elevated rank, their influence and the service they were rendering by their example.* After suitable expressions of thanks we retired.

“June 4. At our first stop on the Platte we used buffalo chips to build the fire. When they are thoroughly dried by the sun, they give a very hot fire. It is the wood of the prairie and it was rather amusing to see our men running here and there to gather it.

“June 9. Rejoicings in the caravan. A young buffalo about a year old was killed. He was about as big as a three or four year old Canadian steer.

“June 10. We took the census. The individuals forming the personnel of the caravan numbered 172. This day we found a little board on the road on which were written the names of eight caravan leaders, who had passed since June 1. Captain McGowan’s name was added.

“June 12. Since Kakinga’s visit on Soldier River we had not seen a single savage. It was not so with a company which was behind us. We found out that two or three men, having gone to a distance while hunting, were met by some Pawnees who left them only their hats and boots. We came to the confluence of the two forks of the Platte. The fifteenth we crossed the South Fork, which we had kept to for several days. Its bottom is of quicksand, which, added to a rather strong current, made it difficult to ford. It took six yoke of oxen to drag over our heaviest wagon. The bed of the river might be eight or ten arpents in

width. In less than two hours all were on the left bank, which one follows for twenty-four miles before crossing the tongue of land which separates the South fork from the North one.

“June 17. About noon we came to Ash Cañon (Coulee des Frenes) two miles from the North branch of the Platte. The descent into this basin is so steep that at first glance it appears impassible for a wagon. Nevertheless after taking care to put drags on all the wagons, we came quickly and safely to the bottom of the hill.

“So far we had travelled for the most part through open prairie, which stretched away clean out of sight; we generally had good roads and found abundant pasturage for our animals. It wasn't to be so the rest of the trip.

“June 18. The road along the Platte had many drawbacks. The hubs sank several inches in quicksand, which tired the teams terribly. The nineteenth we passed Dry Creek, known as Woods Coulee [Couleé des Bois Counu] and the fork of the Lawrence. Near the latter is the Castle, a rocky knoll which, seen from the road, has the perfect appearance of a castle. One would say that it was about a mile off, although, as a matter of fact, it was almost two leagues (six miles) from our road.

“June 21. We left the ‘Chimney’ behind and camped at Scott’s Bluff, where there is an excellent spring. Then we travelled over the most arid land we had yet seen.

“June 24. The great Canadian feast day (St. John the Baptist’s) we dined at Morin’s Point. By evening we were five miles from Fort Laramie.

“June 25. Every one dressed up, as is th custom of travellers when they come to a fort. At noon our tents were pitched on the right bank of Laramie River. We went to salute the ‘bourgeois’ of the fort, Messrs. Bourdeau and Montalon. The following day I said Mass in the fort. Several Indians were present.

“If we had been deprived of seeing Indians from the time we left Soldier River, we now got our fill of them, for the Sioux who were in the neighborhood of the fort didn’t cease to come to see us during the whole time we spent in the place. There, too, I found myself in another predicament due to the desertion of three drivers. For in such a place it isn’t easy to find men who want work. Fortunately Mr. Bourdeau came to my aid by procuring the services of one of his employees.

“Here is the result of my calculations about distances, according to the measurements which I have mentioned.

	<i>Miles</i>
From Westport to the place where one leaves the Little Blue.....	278
From the Little Blue to the Platte.....	18
Going up the Platte to the confluence of the two forks.....	109
From the confluence across to the South Fork.....	41
Along the left bank of the South fork.....	24
From the South Fork to the Ash Cañon.....	15
From Ash Cañon to Fort Laramie.....	130

615

“I am very cordially,

“THE BISHOP OF WALLA WALLA.”

LETTER 5

“St. Pierre, January 15, 1849.

“Dear friend: In my last I spoke of the intense cold which we were experiencing. It has not diminished since. A good fire is needed to keep one warm. With such temperature the poor Indians must suffer in their lodges.

“Yesterday I experienced a great consolation. The chief of the Waskos (Indians of the Dalles) accompanied by several people of his camp, came to the afternoon services. He expressed the desire of being instructed. Until then we had been unable to get them to pay us a visit. Pray for their perseverance.

“I'll take up the narrative of my journey.

“We had come about a third of the way which separated us from Walla Walla, but we had travelled only what was easiest both for the men and the beasts of burden. The latter were to waste away from lack of pasture and many among them were to leave their bones on the road. Thence to Fort Hall the country is very arid, water and woods are scarce, the road sandy and difficult.

“June 28. The twenty-eighth we left Fort Laramie. Before us rose Mount Laramie, whence flows the river of the same name.

“July 4. The Fourth of July couldn't pass without some signs of rejoicing but since it fell on Sunday the celebration was postponed to the morrow. The day was given over to writing letters for it had been rumored that we would soon meet a party of people from Oregon bound for the East. Monday, early in the morning, several volleys of musketry were fired in honor of the anniversary of American independence. After dinner there were songs, music, speeches and then hurrahs till all voices were gone. During the day we met the party which we were expecting. It was composed of eight horsemen. They had left Oregon City on May 5 and had taken the southern route. They said it was in bad condition and longer by 150 miles than the one through the Dalles, Walla Walla, Grand Round, etc. They had met 750 wagons, almost all on their way to Oregon.

“July 6. After passing Deer River we were at the new crossing of the Platte. Some Mormons have put up a blacksmith shop there to mend wagons and a ferry to carry people over to the left bank. We were glad to pay a dollar a piece to get across, but several of our party preferred to cross eight miles farther up.

“July 7. While at the ferry we again met several travellers coming from Oregon, who told us that last Autumn a great number of emigrants on their way to California died of starvation while others survived only by eating human flesh.

“July 8. Finally we left the Platte, not to see it again, and the first river we were to meet was the Eau Sucree or Sweet Water, fifty miles away. At the Spring [la Fontaine] our caravan split up into three squads in order that the pack animals might find fodder more easily.

“July 10. Before camping on Sweet Water, we had passed Independence Rock. It is the first stone which we have seen since Westport. Numerous emigrants have carved their names on its sides. It is the first link of the Rocky Mountain chain.

“July 12. By calculating the distance we had travelled from Westport we found that we had passed by fifteen miles the halfway point between it and Walla Walla. We painted a cross with tar on a nearby boulder.

"July 13. We met some more people from Oregon who had left May 31. They brought news that the Indians don't wish to let the whites settle among them.

"July 16. After crossing the Sweet Water we camped for the last time on its shores. We found a Snake woman who was scarcely able to walk, living there. Her lodge was a few woven branches. The guide told us that she had been abandoned by her people because of her age, and that there she would wait until death paid its visit. However, she seemed determined to prolong her days as much as possible; and she took advantage of our camping near her, to eat heartily and put by a bit for the future.

"A fourth Oregon caravan told us that the 'racourci' or cutoff shortened the route by eighty miles; but that it was not worth while, because it cut through a stretch of forty or fifty miles where there was neither water nor grass and hence one would have to travel at least for twenty-four hours without stopping.

"In general the Oregonians whom we saw did not seem enchanted by their new country. Some of them complain that Indians steal their horses. Today we came upon a bit of snow.

"July 17. On our left, about six miles off, we had the peak called Table Mountain, and on the right Wind River Mountain. Several days before we could see the summit covered with snow. These mountains are on the watershed. The Sweet Water rises there and goes to the east to empty into the Platte, while the Green River directs its stream thence to the Pacific Ocean.

"The first river we had to cross was the Little Sandy which, united to the Big Sandy, swells the Green River. At length we were on the watershed and soon I was to be in my own home, that is to say in the country of Fort Hall, which was under my episcopal jurisdiction. The ice which we found each morning in our pails proved clearly enough that we had come to a level of high altitude. Although we had been in the Rocky Mountains ever since Independence Rock, we couldn't complain, because we always had them either to left or right. We travelled over an arid plain where from time to time deep gullies supplied water and grass. With the exception of the old woman near Sweet Water we had not met a single savage since our departure from Fort Laramie. From now on we had nothing to fear from their visits because we were on the territory of the Snakes, who are not hostile to the whites.

"July 18. We crossed a plateau where sage brush alone grew and made a march of twenty miles that we might camp on the Little Sandy.

"July 19. Leaving the 'Short Cut' on our left we took the old road which, though longer, is easier and more abundant in water and grass.

"July 20. We crossed the Big Sandy, a beautiful stream which is perhaps twenty-five or thirty rods wide. The twenty-first we were on the left bank of the Green River. There we found the California caravan, to which Dr. Fourgeau belonged. It had waited four days. Since they had not found a practicable ford, they had been forced to build a raft on which to carry the wagons over to the right bank.

"We were more fortunate for by going a little further down we crossed easily by simply raising the wagon boxes seven or eight inches. The twenty-second we were on the other side. At this place Green River is, I should say, a hundred rods wide. We followed it some time and then we fell upon Black Fork, which flows into the former through a bed some twenty rods wide. On the shore

of this river we gave solemn burial to Mr. Powell, twenty-six years old, baptized several weeks before by Mr. Brouillet.

“July 25. We arrived at Fort Bridger, which consists of two very plain buildings near which are a few lodges belonging to rangers, Canadians and Creoles. The fort is situated in the center of a fair and pretty extensive prairie, kept green by the waters of the Black Fork and several creeks. We were told that the Mormons in passing made themselves masters and took what they wanted, leaving in payment notes payable by the Federal Government.

“July 26. Being unable to secure what we desired we departed with haste to cross the First Muddy. We followed the Second Muddy for some time. It, as well as its sister, empties into the Black Fork.

“July 28. At 4 p. m. we were on the top of a mountain from which we saw to the west the beautiful Riviere a l'Ours, Bear River. From the time we set out we had not come upon so vast a view nor one so lovely. The heights were below us as we looked behind. We had travelled several hours before coming to the top of this mountain.

“July 29. We ate dinner on the bank of Bear River, near the most beautiful spring I have ever seen in my life. It rose with the gush of a mountain torrent and, was from fifteen to twenty feet wide.

“Bear River winds between two chains of mountains through a valley five to eight miles wide. Unfortunately there are only a few willows along its banks; if there were wood there it would be a suitable place for a mission. There are bustard and antelope to be had in great numbers. We had to follow the Bear three or four days; and it was an exceptionally beautiful trail.

“July 30. Ten miles from our camp a short road slid down into the one we were following. There we found some tents of rangers, who had come to trade with the settlers. They also hoped to meet a priest in order that they might have their children baptized.

“August 2. The morning of the second the mountains were white with snow; the temperature too dropped pretty low. We turned in for the night near Soda Springs. Many mineral springs are to be found along the banks of the Bear. A few miles further on we turned off on our left from the Bear, which took a southerly turn, and on the fourth we camped on the Port Neuf, a tributary of Snake River. There it was that I saw the Flatheads for the first time. This tribe is the first fruits of Christianity in the Rocky Mountains. The fifth we crossed the Port Neuf and climbed continuously for four hours, that we might make the summit of a divide from which we had to descend to the Ross Fork. Finally, after having travelled a road of loose sand all the seventh, we pitched our tents near Fort Hall toward sunset.

“Mr. Grant offered me hospitality; but since Fathers Ricard and Blanchet, who had gone ahead, were already at his house, I feared causing inconvenience and chose to sleep in my tent.

“It was exactly three months since we had left Kansas with our baggage train. For some time I had been quite sick and could not bear the smoked bacon. Hence, it was with pleasure that we received a few pounds of fresh beef which Mr. Grant sent us.

“Fort Hall, built of sun-baked brick, is oblong in shape. It is situated on a tributary fork of Snake River, in the center of a great prairie which furnishes plentiful pasture. The distance we had travelled, according to my measurements, was the following:

	<i>Miles</i>
From Westport to Fort Laramie.....	615
From Fort Laramie to Fort Bridger.....	379
From Fort Bridger to Fort Hall.....	188

“Thus we judged that in three months we had made 1182 miles, that is to say a little over thirteen miles a day. Seven hundred and ten wagons on their way to Oregon had passed Fort Hall before us. During the trip from Fort Bridger to Fort Hall we had lost several of our oxen. Three men had left us and our new workmen had been sick part of the time and yet every Sunday and feast day we had offered the holy sacrifice of the Mass and moreover we often found the means of celebrating it on week days. I beg, etc., etc.

“A. M. A., BISHOP OF WALLA WALLA.”

LETTER 6

“St. Pierre, January 16, 1849.

“Dear friend: Sometime before we came to Fort Hall, it was thought necessary for me to go ahead that I might secure lodging and provisions for the winter. This plan seemed quite right to me, but since it was necessary to make the trip on horseback, and I was sick, I feared greatly that I should be unable to get there. It is true that I had made three-quarters of the trip from Westport on horseback, but then we were going at a walk and when I was tired I got down and walked for some distance. But now it was necessary to go quickly and while keeping up with a caravan, to make twenty or thirty miles on the trot without interruption. However, I finally decided to go and make necessary arrangements.

“The caravan sent by Mr. Grant had to leave the fourteenth. The tenth of August my wagons got under way, Mr. Brouillet acting as guide. I took with me Mr. Rousseau, Father Ricard and Father Blanchet. The company let us have two horses at twelve dollars a piece and fifteen dollars were paid for fodder. From the tenth to the fourteenth of August Mr. Grant was our host. Nevertheless our stay at Fort Hall became tiresome because the heat during the day prevented us from studying or sleeping and to get any rest at night we had to sleep outdoors. Then the mosquitoes were importunate visitors and were not at all considerate of the trouble they caused our slumbers. It was with a sigh of relief that we left there.

“August 14. Since morning we have been by ourselves. The caravan is made up of seventeen persons and forty-three horses with as many saddle and pack animals. We left about 3:30 under the care of a guide named Raymond. After two hours' march we had gone eight miles along the Newport and there we spent the night. We had hoped to rest quietly; but in vain! All night long we had to fight a veritable army of mosquitoes, which prevented our sleeping a wink.

“August 15. Even today, the feast of the Assumption, we broke camp early and took the trail. Thus we had to travel on the right bank of the Snake as far as Fort Baise; we forded this stream about forty-six miles from Fort Hall, to take advantage of the fine pasturage.

“August 17. We ate dinner face to face with Bustard Mountain and made for the ‘Cedars,’ a most picturesque place.

“August 18. We had to go thirty miles before we found water. It was a fatiguing march in summer heat. Generally, we stop about midday to let the hottest part of the day go by.

“About a hundred miles from Fort Hall one meets with what might be called one of the beautiful horrors of Nature. Between volcanic rocks towering to the height of two hundred feet rushes the Snake River and hurls itself thence into a deep pit. This fall, more than a hundred feet in height, is not marked on any map which I have seen. We called it Canadian Falls, because it is known only to Canadians, who are in the service of the Hudsons Bay Company.

“August 19. We were at Malade or Big Wood River. The mountain which you see to the north of this river is called Camas Mountain, because on the prairies which stretch out from its base they find great quantities of the plant which bears this name. Camas is a bulbous herb much sought by the Indians, who eat it broiled over a fire. They also make a bread of it, which I found to be excellent and very nourishing.

“August 21. We cut across and next day passed Hot Springs. Its water has so high a temperature that one may not keep his hand in it for a minute without danger of scalding. We dismounted at Charlotte Fork and went into camp at White Horse Fork. The country we had traversed was very arid. Sage-brush is the only thing which grows there, but along the rivers and around the spring grass is very plentiful.

“August 23. We were on Boise River; the twenty-fifth at noon we arrived at Fort Boise. This fort, built of sun-baked brick, is on the right bank of Snake River at about three-quarters of a mile distance below the mouth of the Boise. Here we had some salmon to eat. It wasn't very dear either. A salmon of sixteen to eighteen pounds cost us two rifle balls with their charge of powder.

“Along the Boise we met with country perfectly fit for cultivation. Unfortunately there is no wood there for building purposes. Willows and poplars are all one sees. Several times they planted vegetables around Fort Boise without having succeeded in raising any of them. The drought always killed them.

“August 27. We couldn't leave the fort before the twenty-seventh. The twenty-ninth we camped on Birch fork, three hundred paces from Snake River, which we were to see no more. Before us stretched some blue mountain ranges, the last we had to scale.

“August 30. We passed Burnt (Brulee) River. Near it we received a visit of a Snake chief, a noble orator, who, satisfied with smoking several pipefuls of tobacco, said, before leaving, that the French had nothing to fear from the ‘Snakes.’ Next day we were at an elevation from which the eye rested on the Blue Mountains crowned with forests.

“September 1. After having crossed Thunder River (Riviere à la Foudre), we halted on one of its tributaries. Next day after skirting the mountains to our left we passed the night on the Grand Rond River. The Grand Rond waters an extensive valley suitable for cultivation and which the Cayouse have taken from the Snakes. We came across several Cayouse lodges, also some Walla Walla Indians who were raising Camas.

“On the third we entered the Blue Mountains; we crossed the Grande Rond at eight or ten miles from camp. Our bread was all gone; and for the first time in our lives we were forced to live like mountain travelers. We had dry salmon, bacon and tea, which is more than many other missionaries have when their bread gives out.

“September 4. On the fourth we came out of the mountains and about noon crossed the Umatilla, that we might dismount five or six miles further on at Chestnut Fork (Fourche aux Marrons) where we had trouble enough to find any water.

“September 5. There were about thirty miles between us and Fort Walla Walla. We had to make this stretch without getting out of the saddle. We had already made equally long trips without much trouble; moreover we were to arrive at our goal. This was a strong motive to give us perseverance. About ten o'clock we were at the watershed between the Umatilla and Walla Walla River. We had to come down through a deep straight valley twelve to fifteen miles long. Nothing could be more tiresome than this road. Each moment one hoped to come out of this gorge and each moment one was disappointed. Finally, about two o'clock we galloped out into full view of the Walla Walla and at 3:30 we were in the fort.

“Charming hospitality was shown us by Mr. W. McBean, the agent of the Hudsons Bay Company, a pleasant gentleman and a good Catholic.

“The distance between Forts Hall and Walla Walla is about five hundred miles. We had made it in nineteen marching days, averaging twenty-six miles a day, one right after the other. During all this journey our tent was pitched but twice. The rest of the time we did like veteran travellers. We spread our blankets under the stars and slept soundly with our saddles for pillows.

“Joyous as we were to have come to the end of our journey, we still felt some anxiety for Mr. Brouillet and his band. They arrived at last on October 4, not without having undergone a lot and having lost several pack animals.

“I hadn't had the good fortune of celebrating Mass since leaving Fort Hall. The sixth of September an altar was improvised in the dining roof of the fort and I offered the Holy Sacrifice in thanksgiving to God for all His favors showered down upon us from the time we left Canada. Mr. McBean, his family and all the Catholics of the fort assisted with great recollection and joined with us in singing the hymn of thanksgiving.

I am very cordially, etc.,

“A. M. A., BISHOP OF WALLA WALLA.”

Compiled and edited by

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THE LIFE OF JAMES MARQUETTE

(Continued from October, 1926, Number)

III. THE LAST MISSION. DEATH OF MARQUETTE.

On returning from his voyage of discovery Marquette remained at the mission of St. Francis Xavier on the upper waters of Green Bay. Here he prepared for his superior in Quebec the account of his discovery, and awaited from him orders to repair to the country of the Illinois among whom he had so long wished to announce the Gospel. Owing to his feeble health and the delay necessary in communicating with the distant city of Quebec, thirteen months elapsed before he was able to start for the Illinois country. He was accompanied by two Frenchmen and a number of Indians; some of the latter were returning to their villages near the southern shore of Lake Michigan and were a hindrance rather than a help to the Father.¹

As long as he was able to write, Marquette kept a diary of his journey; beginning on the 26th of October, 1674, the day of his departure, and ending on the 6th of April, 1675. Like the account of the voyage of discovery it is full of interesting details, the difficulty of winter travelling, the abundance of game, the fickleness of the Indians and the faithfulness and piety of his two French companions, both of whom had accompanied him down the Mississippi. This diary is all the more interesting as it is the last of the writings of the discoverer. It was preserved by his companions, who also brought to the Mission of St. Ignatius the account of the Father's death.²

When Marquette began this second voyage to the Illinois from his mission of St. Francis, the breath of winter was already over the landscape. Only an occasional flower of the goldenrod clung to the trembling stem, the brilliant scarlet berries of the black elder burned red on the leafless branches, the winds were chill and penetrating, and overhead the cries of ducks and geese were harbingers of their passage

¹ For this second voyage of Marquette see "The Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59, pp. 18, 165-210; also Edna Kenton's "Jesuit Relations in One Volume," pp. 376-388 (published by Boni, 1925). The title of Kenton's "Jesuit Relations" is misleading as the book contains only a few extracts from the seventy-two volumes edited by Thwaites.

² This diary of Marquette was later sent to superiors in Europe by Father Dablon. It is contained in its entirety in Vol. 59 of the "Jesuit Relations" and also in Kenton's "Jesuit Relations." (See Note 1.)

to warmer climes. But the missionary was long inured to the cold winters of the northern lakes; he trusted his companions, too, and knew their worth and devotedness. They were Pierre Porteret and Jacques Le Castor, fearless *coureurs de bois*, with all the instinct and experience of the savage in woodcraft. They could mend a canoe, or pitch a tent, or scour the woods for game. They knew that the priest's strength had been sapped by his long sufferings, and they were determined not only to be his companions but his servants.

In three days the party reached the portage across the neck of land where the Sturgeon Bay Canal today joins Lake Michigan with Green Bay. Rain fell and was followed by flurries of snow. Pierre ventured too far from the camp after dark and caused some anxiety by his protracted absence. Marquette insisted on carrying his part of the baggage over the high and rough portage to the camp on the lake shore, where friendly Illinois Indians assembled around the cabin constructed for the priest, and asked to be members of the party. The permission was readily granted; for the priest was on his way to their village and knew that they were familiar with the route by lake and stream. Weather continued unfavorable and game was scarce.

On the last day of the month as the wind abated the canoes were launched upon Lake Michigan. Before resuming the voyage, on the mornings of the first and second of November, Marquette had the happiness of celebrating Mass. The party feasted on two wild cats and some venison brought in by one of the Illinois. It is impossible at present to locate the small streams to which Marquette referred during this voyage along the lake shore. To relieve his cramped limbs he walked along the bank at times; and once coming to a river which he could not ford, one of the canoes, putting ashore to assist him, was unable to return through the surf to the deep waters of the lake, and was forced to remain at the mouth of the river for some hours. Marquette utilized the time by instructing some savages whom he found engaged in superstitious rites in honor of a wolf skin, while Pierre assisted a poor Indian by mending his rifle.

For five days the lake was too rough for navigation in small craft; then snow fell, followed by a thaw, which rendered both camping and travelling disagreeable. On the 20th of November the party camped on some high bluffs, now supposed to be Lake Bluff, thirty miles north of the Chicago River. Pierre, whose gun could always be relied on for the larder, killed a deer, and three wild geese and the same number of turkeys. Marquette began about this time to suffer from an acute attack of diarrhoea; cold and inhospitable as



Monument to Commemorate James Marquette, S. J., Louis Jolliet, and the Algonquin Inhabitants of Illinois, erected by the Art Institute of Chicago as trustee of the Ferguson Fund, two hundred and fifty years after the voyage of discovery of Marquette and Jolliet.



the camping place must have been, it gave the priest a chance to rest during his malady. Friendly Indians came along with a supply of buffalo meat.

On the first and third of December Marquette again said Mass. Floating ice upon the lake made navigation slow and dangerous; still after a brave battle the Frenchmen reached the mouth of the Chicago River only to find the ice half a foot thick. The snow, too, was deep, so that further progress was rendered difficult by land and impossible by water. For several days the party waited hoping that the river would thaw. Marquette expressed his great disappointment on not being able to celebrate Mass on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception on account of the severe cold and want of protection. During the delay at the mouth of the Chicago River, Pierre and Jacques were busy with their rifles, killing three buffaloes and four deer; wild turkeys strutted up to the door and were killed at will. As the cold weather continued and there seemed no prospects of the ice melting on the river, the Frenchmen began reluctantly to drag their canoe and baggage up the river towards the portage. Meeting some of the Illinois on the second day they generously gave the savages one of the buffaloes and one of the deer killed a few days previously. While the Indians were thankful for the meat, they were loud in their demands for something to smoke, throwing beaver skins at the feet of the Frenchmen, and offering them the rich pelts for a small amount of tobacco. Neither Marquette nor his companions were willing to accept the skins; but they generously gave what tobacco they could spare.

About five miles from the mouth of the Chicago River, in what is today the lumber zone of the city, the travelers came upon a log cabin. Marquette found the place deserted and went in to rest. The ice upon the river was thickening, and snow was deepening upon the landscape. The priest was weak and feverish, and at the advice of his companions consented to spend the winter in the cabin. In June, 1880, A. T. Andreas, the author of "A History of Chicago," read before the Chicago Historical Society a paper in which he denied to Marquette the claims of being the first white man to visit the site of that city.³ According to his contention Marquette and his two companions entered the mouth of the Calumet River about twelve miles below the outlet of the Chicago River, that they had camped upon a ridge near Calumet Lake, and therefore did not enter the limits of the present city. The question is now a dead issue, for the

³This paper appears in "A History of Chicago," by A. T. Andreas.

omnivorous metropolis of the lakes has reached out and included both locations, so that there can be no further dispute about Marquette's claims as being Chicago's first citizen.

Granting that there is considerable force in the arguments of Mr. Andreas in regard to the Calumet route, we believe that Shea and Parkman, and the more recent historians of Chicago have put forth stronger claims for the opposite opinion. In the heart, then, of the present throbbing city of the lakes, where now huge lumber piles extend along the river, where the reek of slaughter houses and the smoke of factories and mills make habitation all but impossible, at a place marked by a cross erected in 1907, Marquette and his two companions spent the winter of 1674.⁴ Had the missionary's health been good there would have been little suffering; although hardships and inconveniences were necessarily connected with such a life in a new country. The cabin was a permanent one built of logs, and owned by two French traders, one of whom, Pierre Moreau, but known as La Taupine,⁵ was famous in the early annals of Canada. Three buffalo robes, secured from the Illinois Indians for tobacco, proved most serviceable during the long cold season.

But the rude cabin on the banks of the Chicago River was more than a place of protection; it became the first chapel of Illinois. Daily the priest had the satisfaction of saying Mass, even when he was weak and sick. His two companions joined with him in his devotion. It is only too true that many of the bushrangers and trappers of those days were men of coarse and immoral lives; but it is equally true that many edify us by their devotion and constancy in the midst of spiritual neglect, and strong temptations to vice and sin. That old explorer and trapper, Sieur Nicolet, returned to a civilized community after twenty years of life with the savages because, he said, he could no longer live without the consolations of religion. La Taupine, too, and his fellow hunter, whose only name

⁴In 1923 a celebration was held at this place to commemorate the 250th anniversary of Marquette's coming to Chicago. The writer was one of the speakers on the occasion and still recalls the strang scene before him. I stood at the foot of the cross which was erected in 1907; before me was a group of attentive listeners, but perched high upon the surrounding lumber piles were numerous small boys whose attention I had great difficulty in holding. I have often visited this cross late in the afternoon, and have frequently seen women, mostly of foreign birth, praying before it. Evidently it reminded them of some wayside cross in their native land.

⁵In a story entitled "Marks of the Bear Claws" I have endeavored to draw a picture of the ideal bush-ranger of those days. The story deals with Marquette's discovery of the Mississippi River.

known to us is The Surgeon, although several miles from the cabin of Marquette, came through the cold and snow simply to attend religious exercises.

Towards the end of December, Jacques, who found the long delay tedious and depressing, started for the Illinois village, near the present city of Utica. Although the Indians were all but starving in the intense cold and deep snow, which prevented them from hunting; still when they heard of the weak health of the Black Robe, who was on his way to instruct them, they could scarcely be restrained from starting at once to carry the Jesuit and his effects to the village. The French hunters who came to the cabin to satisfy their devotions were not unmindful of the missionary's wants, and brought a plentiful supply of corn and blueberries. When Jacques returned from the Illinois village, he brought more corn and provisions, or, as Marquette writes in his journal, corn and other delicacies; but just what these delicacies were we are at a loss to tell.

The cold was now intense; in vain did the buffaloes paw the crusted snow to find a few dried leaves or blades of withered grass below; and the deer walked close to the cabin, but so gaunt and wasted that the hunters would not shoot them.

On the twenty-fifth of January Marquette made the following entry in his diary:

“The Illinois brought us on behalf of the elders two sacks of corn, some dried meat, pumpkins, and twelve beaver skins: 1st, to make a mat; 2nd, to ask for powder; 3rd, that we might not be hungry; 4th, to obtain a few goods. I replied: 1st, that I had come to instruct them by speaking to them of prayer; 2nd, that I would give them no powder because we had come to restore peace everywhere, and I did not wish them to begin war with the Miamis; 3rd, that we feared no hunger; 4th, that I would encourage the French to bring them goods, and that they must make restitution to the surgeon for the beads which they had stolen from him when he left to come here. As they had come a distance of twenty leagues I gave them in order to reward them for their trouble and for what they had brought me, a hatchet, two knives, three clasp knives, ten strings of glass beads, and two double mirrors, telling them that I would endeavor to go to their village,—for a few days only, if my illness continued. They told me to take courage, and to remain and die in their country; and that they had been informed that I would remain there for a long time.”

February 9th: “Since we addressed ourselves to the Blessed Virgin Immaculate and commenced a novena with a Mass to ask God to restore my health, my bloody flux has left me and all that remains is a weakness of stomach; I say we, for both Jacques and Pierre, who do everything they can to assist me, joined in with me in the Novena and received Communion. I am beginning to feel much better and to regain my strength. Out of a cabin of Illinois who encamped near us for a month some have again taken the road towards the

Pottawatamies and others are on the lake shore awaiting the time of navigation. They are carrying letters to our Fathers at the mission of Saint Francis Xavier.”

For more than a month, that is from the 20th of February to the 23rd of March, Marquette did not make an entry in his diary. With the signs of awakening spring his hopes revived. On the 28th of March a welcome south wind sprang up, and a thaw set in. On the following day an ice gorge blocked the river which rose fully ten feet, forcing the unsuspecting Frenchmen to climb into trees to escape the flood which covered the country for miles around. They were driven to seek refuge on a damp hillside,⁶ where they spent the night. But the ice gorge broke in the night and the river fell rapidly, giving the eager travelers a chance to embark and resume their voyage. The drifting ice made the rowing difficult and dangerous, so that a stop was made after a few miles had been covered.

On the 6th of April the Frenchmen after a short portage reached the bank of the Illinois River, and Marquette made his last entry in his note book.

Spring had come. The whirr of myriad wings was heard overhead and the sky was blackened by flocks of wild pigeons returning from the swamps and glades of southern lands; ducks and geese paused in their homeward journey and glided merrily over the small lakes and flooded streams; the famished deer went forth to crop the newly born grass and enjoy the warm sunshine, to romp through woods and over rolling plains. Our three voyagers left their winter quarters, and once more launched their canoe on the river which was to bear them to the wigwams of the Illinois.

During his voyage down the Desplaines and Illinois rivers Marquette did not make any entry in his diary. Possibly he contemplated a long account when the work was finished and there was leisure for writing. But the leisure never came.

Perhaps there was not a more populous village in all America than the group of cabins which the Illinois Indians had built on the level plains between the river and the present city of Utica. The missionary knew the character of the savages, knew of their long appeals for the Black Robe to come to them. We shall let Father Dablon tell of Marquette's mission work of three weeks among the Illinois. He received the story from the two faithful companions,

⁶ This is the same site that is referred to in Note 4. The hill has long since been cut away for the lumber yards which extend along the river. In the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, October, 1923, may be found a picture of this hill when it was still wooded.

Jacques and Pierre, who brought to the Mackinac the unfinished diary of Marquette with the unwritten story of his sufferings, his piety, his preaching and his death.

“Having at last reached the town on the eleventh of April,” writes Dablon, “Marquette was received as an angel from heaven. He assembled the chiefs and the sachems of the nation to sow in their minds the first needs of the Gospel; then he instructed the people in their cabins which were always filled with crowds of savages. Finally he resolved to address all publicly in a general assembly, and since the cabins were too small he chose for the great council a beautiful open field near the town, the spot being adorned according to the fashion of the country with mats and bear skins. By means of cords the Father raised four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin where all could see them. The council was composed of five hundred chiefs and old men seated in a circle around the Father; next came the young braves to the number of fifteen hundred; there were besides many women and children, the town being composed of five or six hundred fires.

“While addressing this assembly he gave them ten presents; he explained the principal mysteries of our religion and the reason of his coming to this country; and especially he preached to them Christ Crucified, for it was the very eve of the day on which He died on the cross for them as well as for the rest of men. He then said Mass.

“Three days after, on Easter Sunday, arrangements having been made as before, he again said Mass, and by these two sacrifices, the first ever offered there to God, he took possession of this country in the name of Jesus Christ and called the mission the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

“He was listened to with universal joy and approbation by these people who earnestly besought him to return as soon as possible since his malady obliged him to leave them. The Father on his part assured them that he was most pleased with their conduct and promised that he or some other of our Fathers would return to continue the mission so happily begun; this promise he repeated again and again on parting with them to begin his journey. They showed him every mark of friendship, escorting him with pomp for more than eighty miles, and contending with each other for the honor of carrying the baggage.

“After the Illinois had taken leave of the Father, filled with a great idea of the Gospel, he continued his journey and soon reached the Lake Michigan. He was obliged to take the eastern shore of the lake and not the western by which he had come. His strength failed so rapidly that the men despaired of being able to carry him alive to the journey’s end; in fact he became so weak and exhausted that he could no longer help himself, but had to be handled like a little child.

“He nevertheless maintained in this state an admirable equanimity, joy and gentleness consoling to his beloved companions; he encouraged them to suffer all the hardships of the way assuring them that Our Lord would not forsake them when he was gone. During the voyage he began to prepare more particularly for death, passing his time in colloquies with Our Lord, with His holy Mother, with his Guardian Angel, and with all heaven. He was often heard pronouncing these words: ‘I believe that my Redeemer liveth,’ or, ‘Mary, mother of grace, mother of God, remember me.’ Besides spiritual reading made for him every day, he asked, towards the end, to have them read to him the meditation

on death; he always carried these meditations about with him. He recited his breviary every day; and although he was so low that both sight and strength were fast failing him, he did not omit this practice until the last day of his life, when his companions induced him to cease as it was shortening his days.

“A week before his death he had the precaution to bless a little holy water to serve him during the rest of his illness, on his agony, and at his burial; and he instructed his companions how to use it.

“On a Friday, the eve of his death, he told them all radiant with joy that it would take place on the morrow. During the whole day he conversed with them about the manner of his burial, the way he should be laid out, the place to be selected for his interment; he told them how to arrange his hands, feet, and face and directed them to raise a cross over his grave.’ He even went so far as to enjoin them three hours before his death to take his chapel bell, when he was dead, and ring it while they carried him to the grave. Of all this he spoke so calmly and collectedly that he seemed to be speaking of the death of another and not of his own.

“Thus did he speak with them as they sailed along the lake, until perceiving the mouth of a river, with an eminence on the bank which he thought suitable for his burial, he told them that it was the place of his last repose. They wished however to pass on as the weather was good and the day was not far advanced; but God raised a contrary wind which forced them to return and enter the river pointed out by Father Marquette. Then they carried him ashore, kindled a little fire, and raised for him a wretched bark cabin where they placed him as comfortably as they could; but they were so overcome by sadness that as they afterwards said they did not know what they were doing.

“The Father being stretched on the shore like Saint Francis Xavier as he had always so ardently desired, and left alone in the forest—for his companions were engaged in unloading—had leisure to repeat all the acts in which he had employed himself during the preceding days.

“When his companions afterwards came up all dejected he consoled them and gave them the promise that God would take care of them in these new and unknown countries. He gave them his last instruction and thanked them for the charity which they had shown him during the voyage, begged their pardon for the trouble which he had given them and directed them to ask pardon of all our Fathers and Brothers in the Ottawa country, and then disposed them to receive the sacrament of penance which he administered to them for the last time; he also gave them a paper on which he had written all his faults since his last confession; this paper was to be given to the superior to remind him to pray often for the departed missionary; in fine he promised not to forget them in heaven. As he was very considerate and knew them to be worn out by the toil of the preceding days, he bade them go and take a little rest, assuring them that his time was not so near and that he would awake them. This he did two or three hours later when about to enter upon his agony.

“When they came near he embraced them for the last time while they melted in tears at his feet; he then asked them for the holy water and his reliquary, and taking off his crucifix which he wore around his neck, he placed it in the hands of one asking him to hold it before him. Then feeling that he had but

’Bancroft’s description of the death of Marquette is inaccurate. It was published before this account of Father Dablon was found.

a little time to live he joined his hands, and with his eyes fixed on the crucifix he pronounced aloud his profession of faith, and thanked the Divine Majesty for the grace of dying in the Society of Jesus, of dying in it as a missionary of Jesus Christ, and above all of dying in it as he had always asked, that is, in a wretched cabin, amid the forests, destitute of all human aid.*

"On this he became silent, conversing inwardly with God; yet, from time to time words escaped him; *sustinuit anima mea in verbo ejus; or Mater Dei, memento mei.* These were the last words which he uttered before he entered upon his agony. He prayed his companions to remind him when he was about to expire to pronounce frequently the names of Jesus and Mary. When he could not do it himself they did it for him; and when they thought him about to pass one cried aloud: "Jesus, Maria," which he repeated distinctly. Then as if something had appeared to him he suddenly raised his eyes above the crucifix gazing apparently on some object which he seemed to regard with pleasure, and thus with a countenance all radiant with smiles he expired without a struggle, as gently as if he had sunk into a quiet sleep.

"His two companions after shedding many tears over his body and laying it out as he had directed, carried it devoutly to the grave, ringing the little bell according to his injunction. They then raised a large cross over the grave to mark the place."

"When the two men were about to embark one of them who had for several days been overwhelmed with sadness and so racked in body that he could neither eat nor breathe without pain, resolved while his companion was preparing for embarkation, to go to the grave of his good Father and pray him to intercede with the glorious Virgin, as he had promised, no doubting but that he was already in heaven. He accordingly knelt down, said a short prayer, and having respectfully taken some earth from the ground, he put it on his breast. The pain immediately ceased, and his sadness was changed into joy, which continued during the rest of the voyage.

"God did not suffer so sacred a deposit to remain unhonored and forgotten in the woods. The Kiskakon Indians who for the last ten years have publicly professed Christianity in which they were first instructed by Father Marquette, when stationed at the mission of the Holy Spirit at the extremity of Lake Superior, were hunting last winter on the banks of Lake Illinois (Michigan); and as they were returning early in the Spring, they resolved to pass by the tomb of their good Father whom they tenderly loved. God even gave them the thought of taking the remains and bringing them to the mission of Saint

* At the entrance of the Marquette Building, Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill., there is a mosaic representing the death of Marquette. The interpretation is true and the work artistic; it attracts the attention of many visitors. Thus in the very heart of a great city thousands of people pause to view scenes connected with the life of the illustrious Jesuit missionary and discoverer. The other scenes represent the departure of Marquette and Joliet on the voyage of discovery, and the reception of Marquette and Joliet by the Illinois Indians.

* This was near the present city of Ludington, Michigan. The city was for many years called Marquette, but was changed to Ludington in honor of a rich lumberman and benefactor. However another more important place seized upon the name, and Marquette, Michigan, is at present a thriving city and the seat of a Bishopric.

Ignatius, at Massilimnac where they reside. They accordingly repaired to the spot and deliberating together resolved to act with their Father as they usually do with those whom they respect. They accordingly opened the grave, unrolled the body, and although the intestines and flesh were all dried up, found it whole without the skin being in any way injured. This did not prevent them from dissecting it as is their custom; they washed the bones and dried them in the sun, then putting them neatly in a birch box, they set out to bear them to the house of Saint Ignatius. The convoy consisted of nearly thirty canoes in excellent order,—including even a good number of Iroquois who had joined our Algonquins to honor the ceremony. As they approached our house, Father Nouel, who is Superior, went to meet them with Father Pierson, accompanied by all the French and Indians of the settlement. Having caused the convoy to stop he made the ordinary interrogations to verify the fact that the body which they bore was really the body of Father Marquette.¹⁰ Then landing he intoned the “De Profundis” in sight of the thirty canoes still on the water and of the people on the shore. After this the body was carried to the church with all the ceremonies which the ritual prescribes for the burial of the dead. All that day the body remained exposed under a pall in the form of a coffin. This was the eighth of June; the next day when all the funeral honors had been paid it, it was deposited in a little vault in the middle of the church. Here repose the remains of the body of Father Marquette as the Guardian Angel of the Ottawa missions. The Indians often come to pray at his tomb.”

IV. THE LOST JOURNAL AND FORGOTTEN GRAVE

Like other illustrious men, whose names will be forever associated with the early history of the western hemisphere, Marquette suffered the fate of ingratitude and oblivion. Histories of the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi were written and his name was not mentioned, not even referred to; voyageurs launched their canoes upon the waters of the great western tide and knew not of the seven Frenchmen who had won success and fame on that eventful 17th of June; trappers and hunters threaded the paths of the forest and sought their prizes on the plains of Illinois, and little dreamed of the bold adventurers who had pointed out the way to this land, so rich in hides and pelts; trading posts, and settlements, and forts arose on the banks of the lakes and the Mississippi, and no one could tell who first lit the camp-fires there, and bivouacked on the beach beneath the overhanging branches. Nay more! the colonial period with its inevitable struggles was at an end, the Revolution was fought and won, the tide of emigration swept over and beyond the Alleghanies,

¹⁰ In the Joliet High School, Joliet, Illinois, there are several scenes from the life of Marquette, including that of his burial. However I think that the whole collection of pictures is very inartistic, and that the painter took too many liberties with his art. The brilliant colors of the ecclesiastics at the funeral of Marquette do not represent the simple scenes at Mackinac.

frontier posts grew into prosperous towns and cities, three decades of the eighteenth century passed by; still Marquette was sleeping in an unknown grave, and the record of his discovery, with other faded papers of the famous missions, was hid away in an attic of a convent in Quebec. Then it was that the historian, Bancroft, penned those prophetic words: "The people of the West will build his monument." It was only the thoughtful, delving scholar who could have gleaned material from sources so meager, who could have pointed out the future gratitude of a people, and foretold the contents of pages yet unwritten.

Why was Marquette's name so long left in oblivion? It was due in part to the loss of records, and in part to the malice of men. After the voyage of discovery Marquette remained at the mission of St. Francis Xavier on the upper waters of Green Bay, but sent a full account of his expedition to Montreal through Joliet. After journeying for months and escaping all kinds of dangers, Joliet was overthrown in his canoe in the rapids of the Saint Lawrence, just as he was reaching his destination, with the written records of his success as a discoverer. All the papers were lost and Joliet himself barely escaped drowning. He gave a verbatim account which was duly recorded and forwarded to France by Count Frontenac. Whether Joliet made another copy of his voyage we do not know; but he informed Frontenac that he had left duplicates with Marquette at Green Bay and that they would be sent to him in the following spring.

It is probable that these papers, too, were lost. But Marquette forwarded a duplicate of his journal to his superior, Father Dablon, who made at least two copies of it; one of which was sent to France for publication, and the other preserved at Montreal. Owing to the opposition then existing in France and Canada against the Jesuits, the publication of the Relations was prohibited at this time; but the journal of Marquette fell into the hands of a French publicist by the name of M. Thevenot,¹¹ who printed it (1681) in a somewhat altered and mutilated condition.

From the death of Marquette in 1675 to the end of the seventeenth century, there was great opposition and prejudice on the part of the officials of Canada against the members of the Society of Jesus. This antagonism arose from two sources. First the Jesuits sided with Bishop Laval in repressing the infamous liquor traffic which was working such evil among the Indians; and secondly they would not concur with Frontenac in his schemes of bringing the tribes into close

¹¹"Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59, pp. 9, 154.

communication with the French as a means of civilizing them. Seeing himself opposed by the Jesuits, Frontenac sought to exclude them from all posts of importance. Then an effort was made to throw discredit on the missionary work of the Society of Jesus. A book was published with the title "The Establishment of the Faith in New France." The author was supposed to be Le Clercq; but it is now believed that this was only a borrowed name, and that it was inspired to a great extent by Frontenac. The work is so full of contradictions and is written in such a partisan spirit that it has but little historical value. In it Marquette's name is not mentioned, still "his published journal is treated as an imposture and his discovery as pretended."

Charlevoix was the first to rescue the name of Marquette from oblivion; but he drew from the mutilated edition of Thevenot and not from the journal of Marquette, which Dablon had prepared for publication. The history of this lost manuscript is curious and interesting. Charlevoix, writing his history within the walls of the very college where the manuscript was preserved, was unaware of its existence. When Canada fell into the hands of the English, the Jesuits were forbidden to receive new subjects and were forced to form tontines by which their property at the death of the last survivor would fall into the hands of the government. The last survivor, Father Gazot, shortly before his death (1800) bethought himself of preserving some of the records of the missionary work of his companions and carried to the Ursuline Convent in Quebec a number of papers with the injunction that they should be restored to the Jesuits in case of their returning to the country. These papers were hidden away and forgotten until the year 1842 when the faithful guardians of the trust committed them to Father Felix Martin, who found among other important records, the long lost journal of Father Marquette.

"His (Marquette's) narrative," writes Shea, "is a very small quarto, written in a very clear hand, with occasional corrections, comprising in all sixty pages. Of these, thirty-seven contain his voyage down the river, and is complete except a hiatus of one leaf in the chapter on the calumet; the rest are taken up with the account of his second voyage and death. The last nine lines on page sixty are in the handwriting of Father Dablon and were written as late as 1678. With it were found the original map in the handwriting of Father Marquette and a letter begun by him and addressed to Father Dablon containing a journal of the voyage on which he died, beginning on the 26th of October 1674, and running down to the 6th of April. The written parts of the map compared with a signa-

ture of Marquette found in a parish register at Boucherville establish the authenticity of the map and letter."

This long lost journal was translated and published by Shea in 1854; before that period Bancroft had written his beautiful but imaginary account of the death of the missionary, drawing his material from Charlevoix. After Shea the next historian to treat the question was Parkman, who has written not only accurately but touchingly in regard to the last hours of the priest-discoverer.

The history of the finding of the grave of Marquette is as curious as that of the discovery of the manuscript. We have seen that the Indians removed his bones from the east shore of Lake Michigan to the Mission of Saint Ignace on the Straits of Mackinac. There were at different times mission centers not only on the Island of Mackinac, but on the northern and southern shore. At the time of the removal of the bones, however, the little mission chapel stood on the northern shore. Around it were grouped the populous villages of the Huron and Ottawa Indians, and it was beneath the altar of this chapel that the bones of Marquette were deposited in 1677, two years after the death of the missionary. About the year 1700 the fort and mission of Detroit was founded, and drew away from Saint Ignace the Christian Hurons and Ottawas. As there was no longer a field for their apostolic labors the missionaries abandoned Mackinac and set fire to the church to prevent its being desecrated by the new pagan Indians who still lingered around the spot. Did they exhume and take with them the remains of Father Marquette? If they did so, no record was made of the transfer. Schoolcraft in his "Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi" has the following statement, but as he gives no authority his account has not been generally accepted: "When the post of Michilimacinae was removed from the peninsula to the island, about 1790, the bones of Marquette were transferred to the old Catholic burial-grounds in the village on the island. There they remained until a property question arose to agitate the church, and when the crisis happened, the whole graveyard was disturbed and his bones with others were transferred to the Indian village of La Crosse near L'Arbre Croche, Michigan."

Still it was generally believed that the bones of the missionary reposed beneath the foundation of the old church at Mackinac, and this belief was confirmed by the discovery of the site of the church in 1877, just two hundred years after the burial of the missionary. What then transpired can best be told by the pastor of Saint Ignace, the Rev. Edward Jacker, one who had devoted many years of his life to the study of the early missions of Canada, and administered

to the spiritual wants of the Ottawa Indians, the very tribe to which Father Marquette was so devoted. Laboring at a spot hallowed by the toil and suffering of so many sainted apostles, Father Jucker naturally became interested in the lives of his predecessors and especially in that of Marquette. After studying all the accounts which the Relations gave, he was convinced that the remains of Marquette were still at Saint Ignace, and often expressed a desire that the old chapel site might be found so that he could possess himself of the precious remains. His desire was granted sooner than he expected, and he has left us in the "Woodstock Letters" an exact account of the finding of the grave.

"Saint Ignace, Sept. 13, 1877. The report of the discovery of Father Marquette's remains, which must have traveled speedily over the wires and spread throughout the country, is, I am glad to say not a fable or exaggeration. I am now writing within a few paces of the casket which contains all that is left of the saintly Jesuit's perishable part. But, alas, it is very little! If the fragments of bones gathered from the humble grave were to be given away for their weight in gold, a person of moderate means could easily acquire them.

"I wrote to you three months ago that the owner of the grounds (where the foundations of the old chapel had been laid bare while some excavations were being made) would not allow any search for the supposed grave. His principal motive was a sort of religious awe. To disturb the remains of a saintly priest, and still more to remove them from the resting place assigned them by his brethren, appeared to Mr. David Murray (a native of County Mayo, Ireland) as something akin to profanation. Nothing less than the word of a bishop was required to remove these scruples. Accordingly, in the presence of Right Rev. Ignatius Mrak, the bishop of Marquette, who was prevailed upon to remove the first spadeful of earth, and a goodly number of people, most of them of mixed French and Indian descent, we began our search on the afternoon of Monday, the 3rd of September. Commencing in the center of what we took to be the foundation of the Jesuits' chapel, and there finding not even as much as would prove the existence of a building, and the fact of its being destroyed by fire, we proceeded towards a cellar-like excavation near the left or southern wall of the chapel and just in front of what in our churches generally is, and in the Jesuits' chapel probably was, the altar of the Blessed Virgin. Once there our search began to assume a more interesting character. Quite a number of objects were dug out from under the vegetable soil, which in the course of a hundred and seventy-one years had accumulated to the depth of a foot or more. Pieces of half burned wood, apparently fragments of hewn planks or beams, all very much decayed, and coal dust mixed with the sand or gravel that underlies the soil of the level ground around the head of our little bay, left no doubt as to the fact of the building's having been destroyed by fire. A few spikes and a number of nails, some of them twisted and seemingly melted together, an iron hinge that may have belonged to the trap door of the cellar, and similar objects, tended to prove the same fact.

"On reaching the bottom of the ancient excavation we met with a piece of birch-bark well preserved but evidently scorched by intense heat—an object well

calculated to raise our sinking hopes. You remember that Father Marquette's bones, as brought to Saint Ignace in 1677, consisted of his bones dissected by the Indians, and stripped of the least particle of the adhering tissues; and that they were enclosed in a birch-box or case. In that poor casket in all probability they were entrusted to the ground. Now if they had been removed by the missionaries before firing the chapel we could hardly expect to find even the box or fragments of it; for in that case the casket would in all probability have been taken out together with the bones. A birch box, placed in sand for twenty years, would have been found almost as solid as it was on the day of interment. On the contrary if the removal of the bones took place after the fire, which could not but injure the box, unless protected by a solid vault, some parts should be expected to remain in the tomb, and such proved to be the case. Within the small excavation numerous pieces of birch bark, some almost sound, a few blackened and superficially burned, but most of them only more or less scorched or made brittle by the heat, were found embedded in the blackened sand and gravel, which had to all appearances fallen in or been washed in from above, and thus filled in the tomb after the bones had been removed. Pieces of mortar, likewise, more or less blackened, and small particles of plaster, and even pure white lime were also met with.

“Nor were fragments of bones wanting. A very small one but almost black but solid, and a larger one about an inch in length were found within the space once occupied by the box. Our hopes to find all or a considerable part of the bones soon vanished when at the depth of one and a half feet where the first fragment of bark was discovered, a large piece of the same material was found in its original position, resting on clean sand and gravel. It was nearly two feet long cut round at one corner, and evidently formed part of the bottom of the box. Outside of it, and on the same plane, three long pieces of wood about two inches in thickness were found embedded in the sand. They undoubtedly once formed the support of the box. Their appearance as well as that of the large piece of bark, and especially a piece of white paper, which was also found, gave evidence that the action of the fire had not penetrated to the lower part of the tomb. The relative position of these wooden supports seemed to show that those who removed the contents of the tomb had displaced one of them and perhaps thrown out a fourth one; unless these pieces of wood were placed under the box merely to level it. From the space enclosed by them I should judge that the box must have measured more than two feet in length.

“There was not probably a person who witnessed the search that did not feel certain that the long sought for grave had been found. Nor was the disappearance of the bones of difficult explanation. Their removal had taken place, most probably at least, after the destruction of the church. Human bones are frequently used by the Algonquin tribes for superstitious purposes, and this efficacy is believed to depend partly on the qualities of the individuals they once formed part of. What, then, should these poor people not expect of the remains of a man to whom miraculous power was attributed by their Christian tribesmen. It was almost a matter of course that they should secure such a treasure at the earliest opportunity. But could not the Jesuits themselves, after their return to this neighborhood a few years later, and the renewal of the mission at a point only six miles distant from Saint Ignace, have come over and transferred the remains of the founder of the mission to their new church? If such was the case we could hardly fail to be informed of the fact by Father Charlevoix who

visited the place in 1721. There is, however, another circumstance that makes me strongly inclined to the belief that Indians robbed the grave.

“When the bones were taken out and the damaged box torn to shreds, the former were apparently thrown on the floor of the cellar and a number of small fragments were left there, mixed up with the debris of the building, and some shreds of the box; a way of proceeding that would hardly have been expected of the missionaries, who on the contrary would have been careful to gather the least particles of their venerated brother’s remains. Those fragments, some thirty-six in number and belonging to different parts of the body—were discovered on the second day of our search. A person of this place who rather stealthily searched for a piece of bark or some other little keepsake was the lucky finder, and honest enough to hand them over to me on my return from Mackinac Island, whither I had accompanied our Right Reverend Bishop the day after the first discovery. On sifting the ground on the spot I found another little fragment. A physician to whom I had shown all the larger bones declared them to be, beyond the shadow of a doubt, fragments of human bones, acted on by intense heat and remarkably well preserved. On one of them, apparently of the frontal bone, he discovered a slight incision running over the whole surface, and evidently produced by the point of a cutting instrument. That cut was most likely made during the process of removing the skin.”

We have quoted this lengthy letter of Father Jacker that the reader may see upon what evidence the genuineness of these relics rested. That the discoverer valued the fragments and did not change his opinion in regard to their being the real bones of Marquette is evident from a letter which he wrote to the president of Marquette University, Milwaukee, offering the collection to that institution as a precious deposit to be preserved in perpetuity by the Jesuit Fathers in charge of the institution. A second letter was afterwards sent with about two-thirds of the fragments collected at the grave. What more fitting place to treasure all that is mortal of the great discoverer than the university that bears his name and perpetuates his memory?

Scarcely a decade of years had passed after the finding of the grave of Marquette, when his name was again brought before the country by the placing of his statue in the national capitol. No religious influence prompted or promoted in any way the erection of this statue, although religious bigotry sought to decry it. The honor of having originated the idea belongs to General Harrison G. Hobart of Milwaukee, General George E. Ginty introducing the bill into the Wisconsin legislature in 1887.

The proposition met with universal favor throughout the state. But as the revised Federal statutes by which the several states of the Union were authorized to place statues in the hall at Washington, stipulated that the men represented should have been citizens of the Union, a special exemption had to be made in favor of Marquette.

Although the statue was presented to the government by Wisconsin, and accepted by the Senate, religious bigotry so prevailed in the House of Representatives that the bill was shelved for years. In the meanwhile resolutions were introduced in the senate by Linton of Michigan and into the Assembly at Madison by Henry Sandford to have the statue recalled. Linton shortly afterwards withdrew his resolution and Sandford's cause was lost in Wisconsin. But it was not until February, 1904, that resolutions accepting the statue were passed by both the United States Senate and the House of Representatives.

Trentanove's statue of Marquette has from an artistic point of view met with universal commendation.¹² He represents the missionary in repose, clasping his breviary in his hand and wearing his crucifix in his belt. The face is calm, dignified and imposing. A comparative study of Trentanove's statue and of Lamprecht's¹³ well-

¹² Geatano Trentanove, who made the statue of Marquette for Statuary Hall, Washington, .D C., first won fame for himself in his native Florence. He received prizes for his exhibitions at Paris before he came to the United States. Twenty-two artists competed for the honor of making the Marquette statue; but the vote was unanimous for the Italian sculptor. After placing the statue in Washington Trentanove resided in Milwaukee for some years. He cast the statue of Kosiusko for the park of that name in Milwaukee, and made a replica of the Washington statue, but much smaller, and sold it to Mrs. W. Cramer, who donated it to Marquette University. The sculptor told the writer that this small statue of Marquette was made of the finest piece of marble with which he had ever worked. Trentanove became a fast friend of the Jesuit Fathers in Milwaukee. Once when passing through the college he saw the students practicing fencing for a play. At once his Italian blood was up; he threw off his coat and went at the students so vigorously that very soon no one was willing to fence with him. See also: "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 50, p. 322, Vol. 71, pp. 210, 401.

¹³ For many years the writer sought in vain for something about the life of William Lamprecht. The following facts were gathered for him by Sister Ernestine, of Mount St. Joseph College, Ohio; and by Mr. Alwin Tapke, vice-president of the Frederick Pustet Publishing Company. Mrs. Leopold Pustet, of Regensburg, Germany, is the daughter of Mr. William Lamprecht. The artist died in Munich on March 19, 1924. His wife is still living (June, 1926). Lamprecht came to Cincinnati from Munich. He painted some pictures for St. Joseph's Church, Linn Street, and decorated the chapel for the Sisters of St. Francis, Oldenburg, Indiana; the chapel of Mt. St. Vincent-on-the-Hudson; and (1901) the chapel of Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, near Cincinnati, Ohio.

The picture of Marquette, which now hangs in the main reception room of Marquette University, was painted by Lamprecht for a fair in Cincinnati. The winner put the picture up for sale, and it was bought by Rev. S. P. Lalumiere, S. J., 1887, for Marquette College (now Marquette University). One of the four stamps struck for the Chicago World's Fair (1894) was made from this picture.

William Lamprecht was a very religious man. He told one of the community

known painting of Marquette offers some striking contrasts. Lam-
precht has given us the soldier in the midst of the battle, flushed
with courage as he presses on in the combat; Trentanove has shown
the victorious warrior calmly surveying the field which he has won.
The Munich artist portrays his hero as dauntless and fiery, with an
innate impetuosity, tempered and restrained by religious training,
and long-practiced self-discipline; the Florentine represents him as a
man of imperturbable tranquility, firm, commanding, and of priestly
dignity. The painting vividly recalls to our minds Parkman's descrip-
tion of the missionary discoverer. Everything is there to complete
the parity—the group of dusky savages; the two Miami guides with
that dignified bearing so distinctive of their tribe; the sad, pleading
face of the Indian woman, as if beseeching the Black Robe not to
venture farther; the winding current of the Fox River losing itself
in the hazy distance; the intrepid Marquette, standing in his birch
canoe and looking westward, his face lit up with that holy zeal which
bore him on to make new conquests for God. But the statue recalls
to our minds the description of Bancroft, which has less of the poet-
ical, less of the dreamy woods and dreamy bivouacs beneath star-
clustered skies; still is not wanting in the picturesque, but makes it
subservient to the main figure and character portrayed.

In 1897 another statue, the replica of the one in Washington, was
unveiled in the city on Lake Superior which bears the name of the
discoverer. It is of bronze and stands with its pedestal twenty-eight
feet from the ground and overlooks the harbor of the city of Mar-
quette. In the summer of 1909 a second replica of the Washington
statue was erected on Mackinac Island, but a short distance from the
point from which Marquette set forth on his voyage of discovery,
and where he found a resting place beneath the altar of the little
chapel. At the juncture of the Wisconsin and the Mississippi where
Marquette first beheld the great river of the New World there was
dedicated in the summer of 1910 another statue to the memory of the
priest-discoverer. Truly have the prophetic words of Bancroft been
fulfilled: "The people of the West will build his monument."

THE CHARACTER OF MARQUETTE AND HIS PLACE IN HISTORY

To describe a mountain peak with accuracy one should study it
from every point of view. He should know the vast range of which
it is a part, note its climatic conditions, and acquaint himself with

at Mt. St. Joseph's, Ohio, that he was always ashamed to take money for
painting a picture of our Lord or the Blessed Virgin.



Louis Jolliet, co-discoverer with Father Marquette of the Mississippi River.

the nature of its forest flora and geological formation. He should first gaze at the lofty elevation from a distance and then as he slowly approaches the base he should study the ever shifting scene. Here his observations should become more accurate—his eyes and ears all alert. No sight or sound should escape him, the deep chasm, the whirling torrent, the lofty tree, the rough bolder, the projecting strata, the beetling precipice, and high above all the ever myriad change of cloud formation; all these he should grasp if he would present a perfect and faithful picture.

And yet the observer, who has never approached the mountain but has beheld it at a distance, may depict for us a scene true to nature, though wanting in details. In fact this very dearth of details may lend a charm to the description or may add to its grandeur or sublimity. So it is with those who have gazed from a distance at the historical personages who rise like mountain peaks from the level of their fellow men. Such writers often give us comparative views and suggestive outlines of character which we do not find in the records of contemporaries. It often happens that the work of the contemporaneous observer must be supplemented. He seldom looks to the future; he writes for those of his own age and omits many things with which his readers are familiar; and this to such an extent that his writings become obscure after the lapse of time if not illumined by the views and records of other.

In order therefore to portray the character of Marquette we shall give the opinion of a contemporary, and shall then endeavor to draw for ourselves a picture in harmony with his life work as revealed in his writings and his career as a missionary and a discoverer.

Fortunately we have the record of Father Dablon, for many years associated with our hero, one who knew him intimately and who has left us an estimate of his deeds and virtues. In giving the character of Marquette we must ever remember that he was not only a discoverer, but a missionary and a priest, and that it was in the capacity of these latter functions that his great work was begun and accomplished. Any description of him which ignores this double element in his life is incomplete and in some respects misleading. We must bear in mind that this account of Father Dablon was intended for Marquette's religious brethren, interesting in hearing anything which tended to illustrate the spiritual character of the man. It was written two years after the death of Marquette and shortly after the transferring of his remains from the eastern shore of Lake Michigan to the mission at Mackinac.

“Father James Marquette, of the province of Champagne,” wrote Dablon, “died at the age of thirty-eight, of which he had spent twenty-one in the Society,—namely twelve in France and nine in Canada. He was sent to the mission of the upper Algonquins, called the Ottawas, and labored there with all the zeal that could be expected of a man who had taken Saint Francis Xavier as a model of his life and death. He imitated that great saint not only in the number of barbarous languages which he learned, but also by the vastness of his zeal which made him carry the faith to the extremity of the new world, nearly eight hundred leagues from here, in forests where the name of Jesus had never been announced.

“He always begged to God to end his days in these toilsome missions, and to die in the woods like his beloved model in utter want of everything. To attain this he daily asked God, through the merits of Christ and the intercession of the Immaculate Virgin for whom his devotion was equally rare and tender. By such powerful mediators he obtained what he so earnestly asked for,—since he had the happiness to die like the Apostle of the Indies, forsaken by all, in a wretched cabin on the banks of the lake of Illinois (Michigan).

“We could say much of the rare virtues of this generous missionary; of his zeal which made him carry the faith so far and announce the gospel to so many nations unknown to us; of his meekness which endeared him to every one, and which made him all to all—French with the French, Huron with the Hurons, and Algonquin with the Algonquins; of his childlike simplicity in discovery his mind to his superiors, and even to all persons with an ingenuousness that gained all hearts; of his angelic purity and continual union with God.

“He had a most tender and singular devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and especially to the mystery of the Immaculate Conception; it was a pleasure to hear him speak or preach on this subject. Every letter or conversation of his continued something about the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, as he always styled her. From the age of nine he fasted every Saturday; and from his most tender youth began to recite daily the Little Office of the Immaculate Conception, and inspired others to adopt this devotion. For some days before his death he daily recited with his two companions a little chaplet of the Immaculate Conception which he arranged in the following form. After the Creed, the Our Father, and Hail Mary, they said: ‘Hail daughter of God the Father, hail mother of God the Son, hail spouse of the Holy Ghost, hail temple of the Holy Trinity,—by thy holy virginity and Immaculate Conception, O most pure Virgin, cleanse my flesh and my heart.’

“He never failed to say the Mass of the Conception, or at least the collect, when he could; day and night this devotion was before his mind, and to leave us a lasting remembrance of it he gave the name of Conception to the Illinois Mission. So tender a devotion to the Mother of God deserved some singular favor, and she accordingly granted him what he asked, namely to die on Saturday. His two companions believed that she appeared to him at the hour of his death, when after pronouncing the names of Jesus and Mary he suddenly raised his eyes above the crucifix, as if fixing them on an object which he regarded with pleasure, and with a joy which lit up his countenance. From that moment they thought that he had surrendered his soul into the hands of his good mother.

“One of the last letters which he wrote to his superiors before his great voyage bears evidence of his tender devotion to the Blessed Virgin. There was

found among his papers a book entitled, 'The Conduct of God Toward a Good Missionary' in which he shows the excellence of that vocation, the advantages of self-sanctification to be found in it, and the care which God takes of His gospel-laborers. This little book shows the spirit of God by which he was actuated.'

Such is the account of Marquette from the pen of one who was his companion for years and as his superior knew him well. If some object that it deals too much with the spiritual element in his life they must recall that it was written for those who appreciated supernatural virtues and achievements. In this description by Father Dablon we note the two dominant virtues of our hero. The first was his zeal for the propagation of the Faith, his yearning to bring tribes and peoples to the knowledge of love of Christ his Master; and the second, his tender devotion to the Mother of God. If the great river which he discovered and called by the pleasing title of the Immaculate Conception did not afterwards bear the name which his devotion prompted him to give it, still his desire to see the Queen of Heaven honored in the country to which he first brought the light of Faith has been more than realized. Not only a few straggling bands of Indians in these lands believe in her and honor her, but millions of souls consider it their boast and glory to reverence this blessed creature of God and to salute her under the title of Mary Immaculate.

Although like the mountain peak in the distance the vision is somewhat obscured by time, we shall now attempt to give our own description of Marquette.

That which was most characteristic and won for him his fame was his initiativeness. Other missionaries were upon the field before him, heard of the great river before he did, sent written reports about it, thought of visiting it, thought of converting the tribes living upon its banks. But he, far away upon the western shore of Lake Superior, hears of the same stream from the mouth of an Indian slave, and at once the desire seizes him of finding the great river. From that moment the river haunts him; he gleans information, he writes, he prays, he asks for permission to undertake the work of discovery. He bears the desire with him from the western shore of Lake Superior to the Mission of Saint Ignace; here while he faithfully administers to the Hurons and Ottawas he is ever on the alert to know more of the far away Illinois who dwell on the banks of the unknown river. His holy desire and enthusiasm are communicated to his superiors who recognize in him the fit person to undertake so important and difficult a mission.

To point to the many instances where his farsightedness was manifested would be to write his biography. We can only refer to the conclusions which he reached when in his downward course his canoe was tossed in the murky tide of the Missouri River. At once his practical sense suggested to him the future use of this mighty tributary as a waterway leading still further west. His conclusions were verified when, more than a century later, immigration turned in this direction.

We know how the imagination of the Spaniard was fired and how he was deceived by the wondrous stories of the golden cities of the new world. The French explorer was less imaginative; but he at times failed in his speculations, peopling these vast lands with strange and mythical beings. Sieur Nicolet was so sure of finding China near Lake Michigan that he carried a rich damask robe to wear at his reception by the ruler of the celestial kingdom. Marquette drew inferences from his voyages and observations; but he was too calm, calculating and prudent to be misled, and the record which he left has not been altered by the researches of more critical times.

Though cautious and circumspect his was an enthusiastic and buoyant spirit which was never disheartened or downcast by any mishap. That he was an ardent admirer of the beauties of nature is evident to all who have read his journal carefully. He knew no danger; he was turned aside by no difficulty. He was simple and unostentatious, remaining in the wilderness at his mission post and leaving his companion to bear to Quebec and France the tidings of the discovery.

Of his personal appearance and physique we know but little. He was of a delicate constitution. The painting which was discovered on a panel in Canada and appears in the fifty-ninth volume of the Jesuit Relations does not convey to us even a doubtful picture of him as we conceive him; nor does the statue at Washington represent the popular conception of our hero. The painting from the brush of the Munich artist, Lamprecht, which hangs in the parlor of the university which bears his name, seems to be the most faithful representation of the man as we know him from his writings and his works. He is there portrayed with features sharp and regular. He is of slender build, erect and slightly above the medium height. He wears a closely trimmed beard and is clothed in the cassock of his Order. He is all alert and attentive to a group of savages who are telling him of the many passages of the Fox River which will lead him to the portage of the Wisconsin.

His character may be more clearly understood by a comparison with others whose names are inseparably connected with the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi Valley. Marquette had all the fidelity and common sense of Joliet and was skilled like him in forest lore and woodcraft and those other traits which were inborn in the savage aboriginal inhabitants and were acquired by those who wished not only to win success, but even find means of subsistence amid the dangers and hardships of those early settlements. Both explorers showed remarkable foresight in the preparation for the voyage, glean- ing from every possible source the least information which would be of service to them in their ill-defined venture. Marquette was more observant than his companion and had the advantages of a superior education; Joliet was better prepared by his former experiences and commissions to aid the government which he represented. The latter, too, was less enthusiastic and less charmed by the beauties of nature. They labored with perfect unanimity of mind and spirit and by their foresight, prudence, and patience served their country and the cause of God and won the admiration of all succeeding generations.

Strange as it may seem at first, there was much that was common between the adventurous Spaniard who with his plumed companions first beheld the Mississippi and the simple priest who more than a century later launched his canoe upon its waters. Both De Soto and Marquette were fired with a chivalrous heroism which bore up enthusiastically in the midst of disappointments; both were born leaders of men, winning respect and confidence by their sympathetic nature and just treatment of those over whom they exercised authority. If placed in the position of De Soto, Marquette would not have undertaken the expedition into the interior of the unknown land without more careful investigation; his progress would have been slower but the expedition would not have ended in disaster and at the cost of the lives of so many valiant men. If De Soto had discovered the Mississippi in the seventeenth century, he would probably have followed the river to its mouth, in spite of dangers and at the risk of depriving the world of the advantages of the discovery. De Soto's work had more of the romance and was in accord with the chivalric, daring period in which he lived; Marquette had more of the practical sense of later and more prudent times. Both won success. If the former had not the glory of a discoverer it was not his fault, but the fate of circumstances and the complicity of dangers which beset his path.

If we analyze the character of La Salle we shall find but little that is common with our hero, with the exception of an initiativeness

and a bold resolve to carry the project to completeness. If placed in the position of the Jesuit, La Salle would not have had the prudence and foresight to utilize the meager knowledge of the great river in such a way as to secure success. In fact he conceived a plan of discovery and abandoned it with a fickleness which is surprising in one who has been lauded as a bold type of the modern explorer. Marquette would have seen the impracticability of many of the schemes which La Salle inaugurated, and which not only met with failure but cost the lives of so many Frenchmen and seriously retarded the progress of the colony. If Marquette had possessed the constitution and physique of La Salle and had labored in the interest of the state, he would have been among the first of his time in extending the power of France in the New World.

To know Marquette's place in history one must stand within the nation's capitol in Statuary Hall. There are statesmen, generals, soldiers and patriots, men who built up and preserved our country and laid deep the enduring foundations of religious liberty. They represent different religious beliefs and different periods of the country's growth; but each labored in his own field and in his own calling for the good of his fellow citizens and the prosperity of the nation. But a few feet away from Marquette is the statue of Roger Williams; there is John Winthrop and General Muhlenberg, the first speaker of the Continental Congress; there is Washington and Jefferson, Lincoln and Grant,—peers and heroes from every section of the land. In the midst of them stands Marquette,—fit emblem this of his rank and place among the true and great, the noble and heroic of our country's history.

HENRY S. SPALDING, S. J.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

INTRODUCTION

The author of this article has long cherished the hope that some day he would have the time to write the history of the American Federation of Catholic Societies—that great lay movement which played such a mighty part in the Catholic life of these United States between the years of 1901 and 1917. He felt that it was incumbent upon him to write this history because he was thoroughly familiar with the foundation; the growth and development and the achievements of the Federation movement in this country, inasmuch as he was one of the founders of the movement; opened the first national convention in Cincinnati, December 10, 1901; was elected the first national secretary of the Federation—and served in that capacity for seventeen years; attended all the board meetings and annual conventions and conducted all the official correspondence of the American Federation of Catholic Societies. He often felt that it would be a historical loss if some one, as thoroughly familiar as he, would not take the pains to write this history. The author, who has in his possession all the data of the sixteen national conventions and copies of all the great addresses delivered by America's most brilliant orators, had intended some day to publish two volumes on the Federation of Catholic Societies—the first volume to contain the data of the sixteen great conventions or congresses, and the second volume the notable addresses delivered at these congresses,—when he was approached by Mr. Joseph J. Thompson, editor-in-chief of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, who requested him to write a history of the “American Federation of Catholic Societies,” and the part it played during the seventeen years of its existence, for the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. He promised to do so—reserving the right to later on, if possible, publish the matter in book form.

The author believes that the publication of these articles will be welcomed by the hierarchy, the clergy and the members of Catholic Societies who were actively identified with the Federation movement in the United States; and that students of history will be glad to learn of the work and accomplishments of the American Federation of Catholic Societies.

INCEPTION OF THE FEDERATION MOVEMENT

The first organization to inaugurate the movement for concerted action of the societies of Catholic laymen in this country was the Knights of St. John. At their convention in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1899, they resolved to unite the efforts of their local commanderies. In the meantime the Catholic Societies of Cincinnati, Ohio, Pittsburgh, Pa., and Columbus, Ohio, were the first to form local Federations. In 1900 the Knights of St. John, at their meeting in Philadelphia, further discussed the question of a National Federation, and as a result a meeting was held in the Lyceum Hall, Long Branch, N. J., on August 28 and 29, 1901, where a group of fifty-five priests and laymen from six states, headed by Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, D. D., Bishop of Trenton, N. J., formed a temporary organization and adopted the following resolution:

“Resolved, That we consider the formation of a Federation of Catholic Societies of the United States for the better advancement and promotion of Catholic interests a desirability; that we believe such a Federation to be feasible and practicable, and can be made effective; that we pledge ourselves to labor incessantly towards that end until it shall have been attained, and that we now proceed to consider plans for the formation of such a Federation.”

This resolution was unanimously adopted; a tentative constitution was agreed upon, and the name selected for the new organization was “The American Federation of Catholic Societies of the United States.” The officers elected at this preliminary meeting were: President, Henry J. Fries of Erie, Pa., Supreme President of the Knights of St. John; Vice President, Judge Thomas W. Fitzgerald of New York; Secretary, John J. O’Rourke of Philadelphia, Pa.; Treasurer, M. P. Mooney of Cleveland, Ohio. Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, Bishop of Trenton, N. J., was selected as Spiritual Director.

CALL FOR THE FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION

On invitation of Mr. Anthony Matré, President of the Cincinnati, Ohio, Federation, to hold the first National Convention of this proposed American Federation of Catholic Societies of the United States in the city of Cincinnati, it was moved by Bishop McFaul to accept the invitation and the dates fixed for the first National Convention were December 10, 11 and 12, 1901. The following call was accordingly issued and went out to the Catholic Societies of the United States:

Philadelphia, Pa., October 10, 1901.

To the Officers and Members of all Catholic Societies in the United States—
Greeting:—

On August 28th and 29th, 1901, at Long Beach, N. J., the movement in the interest of the Federation of Catholic Societies was completed, a Constitution adopted and officers elected. This meeting was thoroughly representative, and comprised, along with Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, Bishop of Trenton, many of the leading Catholic clergymen of the country, as well as many of the prominent laity from several states.

It was unanimously agreed that a general call be issued, and sent to every Catholic Society in the United States, whose address could be secured, inviting them to become members of this Federation.

Complying with this instruction notice is hereby given that the Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies will be held in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, Tuesday, December 10, 1901, and all Catholic Societies are cordially invited to become members and send representatives.

Fraternally yours,

Henry J. Fries, *President.*

John J. O'Rourke, *Secretary.*

Approved:

James A. McFaul, Bishop of Trenton, N. J.

Sebastian G. Messmer, Bishop of Green Bay, Wis.

Accordingly, the First National Convention was opened in Cincinnati, Ohio, Tuesday, December 10, 1901, and sessions continued for three days. Five members of the hierarchy, many priests and approximately 250 delegates from various states were in attendance. A constitution was adopted and the following officers were elected:

National President, Thomas B. Minahan, Columbus, Ohio; First Vice President, L. J. Kauffmann, New York, N. Y.; Second Vice President, Thomas H. Cannon, Chicago, Ill.; Third Vice President, Daniel Duffy, Pottsville, Pa.; Secretary, Anthony Matré, Cincinnati, Ohio; Treasurer, Henry J. Fries, Erie, Pa.

Executive Board: Nicholas Gonner, Iowa; Gabriel Franchere, Illinois; E. D. Reardon, Indiana; George W. Gibbons, Pennsylvania; P. H. McGuire, Pennsylvania; M. P. Mooney, Ohio; Lawrence Fabbacher, Louisiana.

Advisory Board: Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, New Jersey; Rt. Rev. S. G. Messmer, Wisconsin.

The first convention was a pronounced success, and the new movement started out with the blessing of His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII and several members of the hierarchy. Its objects and principles were endorsed later on by three Popes, two Apostolic Delegates, the American Cardinals, sixteen Archbishops and seventy-two Bishops.

“Federation faces the great social and economic questions bringing the dictates of justice to the preservation of human rights, be they those of the laborer or those of the employer.

“Federation addresses itself to the great agencies that make for the formation of public opinion, public conscience and public morality, the press and the stage. Thus in every field of human endeavor Federation stands ready to do its full share towards the promotion of true human happiness.

“Federation has voiced in clarion tones at its annual assemblies, the attitude of the Church toward divorce, toward public morality, toward Godlessness in the home and school, toward economic injustice, and toward religious intolerance and bigotry.

“Federation has vindicated the rights of Catholics against unlawful interference, and the Catholic Indian, the Catholic Negro, the inhabitants of the far-off Philippines, the inhabitants of crucified Mexico, all lend their voices to the gladsome song of jubilation which celebrates the glory of the Federation.”

ENDORSEMENTS OF THE HIERARCHY

Some of the Churchmen were very pronounced in their endorsement of Federation: Cardinal Gibbons called Federation “A jewel in our crown.”

Cardinal O’Connell, of Boston, said: “Federation is the most potent barrier to the awful social evils which threaten our country’s prosperity.”

Cardinal Farley, of New York, said: “Federation has accomplished much. It has taught us many of our needs and duties.”

Cardinal Bonzano (Former Apostolic Delegate to the United States and Papal Legate at the Twenty-Eighth International Eucharistic Congress held in Chicago) said in 1912 at the Eleventh National Convention of the Federation: “The Federation stands strongly for all the principles which are the very foundation and basis not only of the Catholic Church, but also of every civic society. Its work met with the approbation of the American Episcopate, of my illustrious predecessor Cardinal Falconio, and with the approbation of the Holy Father himself.”

Archbishop Messmer, of Milwaukee, said: “Federation can look back with pride upon the work it has done.”

Archbishop Blenk, of New Orleans, said: “Federation is a decided necessity and the work it has done and signal service it has rendered is its strongest recommendation.”

OBJECTS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE FEDERATION

The American Federation of Catholic Societies is an organization of Catholics for the purpose of advancing their civil, social and religious interests.

It is not a political organization, and does not control the political affiliations of its members; it asks no favors or privileges, but openly proclaims what is just and fair.

It aims at the creation of sound public opinion on all important topics of the day; it stands for the Christian life of the nation itself; for the proper observance of Sunday; for the Christian education of youth; for the sanctity and perpetuity of Christian marriage; for the safeguarding of the Christian home.

It asserts the necessity of Christian principles in social and public life, in the state, in business, in all financial and industrial relations.

It combats all errors, which are in opposition to Christianity and threaten to undermine the very foundations of human society.

It is willing to co-operate with all loyal citizens and with all civil and social energies which work for truth and virtue.

It exposes falsehoods and injustice, whether in misrepresentation of history, doctrine, or principles of morality.

The aims of Federation, therefore, are religious and patriotic; they are the interest of all American citizens, and especially of those who believe in a Divine Lawgiver and in the revelation of a divine religion through Christ our Saviour.

FEDERATION'S PLATFORM EXPLAINED BY BISHOP SCHREMBBS

Bishop J. Schrembs, D. D., now of Cleveland, Ohio, one of the strongest exponents of Federation, speaking at the Kansas City Federation convention in 1916 on the objects of Federation, said: "The platform of Federation is a fearless declaration of principles which alone can save society. Its program is a vast one. It appeals to and makes for the preservation of the home, and sacredness of the marriage tie.

"Federation works for the diffusion of Christian principles in the all-important field of the education of youth.

"Federation reaches out into the field of human suffering in every form, blessing it with the healing principles of Christian charity. No one is exempted from its loving care, the wayward, the fallen, the criminal—to all it gives a helping hand.

Archbishop Moeller, of Cincinnati, said: "Federation has done a vast amount of good to which I can testify. It is being built along the lines laid down by Leo XIII."

Bishop McFaul, of Trenton, N. J., said: "Federation produced golden fruit. Not only Catholicity in the United States, but in Porto Rico and the Philippines, has received new life and vigor from the pulsations of Federation's mighty heart."

Archbishop Canevin, of Pittsburgh, Pa., said: "I consider the Federation the most important union of Catholic laymen in the world. Federation has done in the first ten years of its existence more in Catholic activities than has been done in the preceding fifty years."

Bishop Muldoon of Rockford, Ill., said: "Federation is a mighty instrument for good in the United States."

Bishop Spalding, of Peoria, Ill., said: "Federation's work is great and urgent and should have the sympathy of all sincere Catholics."

Bishop Bush of St. Cloud, Minn., said: "Federation is doing great and good work which meets my entire sympathy."

Bishop Lillis, of Kansas City, Mo., said: "Federation has my endorsement—it is on the right course."

Endorsements were also received from: Archbishop P. Bourgade of Santa Fe, N. Mex.; Archbishop P. Chapelle of New Orleans, La.; Archbishop A. Christie of Portland, Ore.; Archbishop W. H. Elder of Cincinnati, Ohio; Archbishop J. J. Glennon of St. Louis, Mo.; Archbishop J. J. Harty of Manila, P. I.; Archbishop G. Montgomery, Coadjutor of San Francisco, Cal.; Archbishop Prendergast of Philadelphia, Pa.; Archbishop J. E. Quigley of Chicago, Ill.; Archbishop P. Riordan of San Francisco, Cal.; Archbishop P. J. Ryan of Philadelphia, Pa.; Archbishop J. J. Williams of Boston, Mass.; Bishop E. P. Allen of Mobile, Ala.; Bishop H. J. Alerding of Fort Wayne, Ind.; Bishop J. G. Anderson, Auxiliary of Boston, Mass.; Bishop T. D. Beaven of Springfield, Mass.; Bishop L. H. Boeynaems of Hawaii; Bishop T. Bonacum of Lincoln, Neb.; Bishop J. B. Brondel of Helena, Mont.; Bishop M. F. Burke of St. Joseph, Mo.; Bishop F. A. Burke of Albany, N. Y.; Bishop J. J. Carroll of Philippine Islands; Bishop J. P. Carroll of Helena, Mont.; Bishop F. S. Chatard of Indianapolis, Ind.; Bishop C. Colton of Buffalo, N. Y.; Bishop T. L. Conaty of Los Angeles, Cal.; Bishop H. Cosgrove of Davenport, Ia.; Bishop J. F. Cunningham of Concordia, Kans.; Bishop P. J. Donahue of Wheeling, W. Va.; Bishop F. Eis of Marquette, Mich.; Bishop L. M. Fink of Kansas City, Kans.; Bishop J. Farrelly of Cleveland, Ohio; Bishop J. S. Foley of Detroit, Mich.; Bishop J. A.

Fitzmaurice of Erie, Pa.; Bishop J. A. Forest of San Antonio, Tex.; Bishop J. F. Fox of Green Bay, Wis.; Bishop H. Gabriels of Ogdensburg, N. Y.; Bishop N. A. Gallagher of Galveston, Tex.; Bishop P. J. Garrigan of Sioux City, Ia.; Bishop E. A. Garvey of Altoona, Pa.; Bishop A. J. Glorieux of Boise, Idaho; Bishop Thos. Grace of Sacramento, Cal.; Bishop H. Granjon of Tucson, Ariz.; Bishop Leo Haid of North Carolina; Bishop J. J. Hartley of Columbus, Ohio; Bishop T. A. Hendrick of Cebu, P. I.; Bishop J. J. Hennessy of Wichita, Kans.; Bishop T. Hesslin of Natchez, Miss.; Bishop M. J. Hoban of Scranton, Pa.; Bishop J. J. Hogan of Kansas City, Mo.; Bishop I. Horstman of Cleveland, Ohio; Bishop John Janssen of Belleville, Ill.; Bishop W. A. Jones of Porto Rico; Bishop B. J. Keiley of Savannah, Ga.; Bishop W. J. Kenny of St. Augustine, Fla.; Bishop Koudelka of Superior, Wis.; Bishop J. McGavick, Auxiliary of Chicago; Bishop McGolrick of Duluth, Minn.; Bishop B. J. McQuaid of Rochester, N. Y.; Bishop C. P. Maes of Covington, Ky.; Bishop N. C. Matz of Denver, Colo.; Bishop T. Meerschaert of Oklahoma; Bishop J. S. Michaud of Burlington, Vt.; Bishop J. B. Morris of Little Rock, Ark.; Bishop H. P. Northrup of Charleston, S. C.; Bishop J. J. O'Connor of Newark, N. J.; Bishop E. J. O'Dea of Seattle, Wash.; Bishop D. O'Donaghue of Louisville, Ky.; Bishop C. J. O'Reilly of Baker City, Ore.; Bishop H. J. Richter of Grand Rapids, Mich.; Bishop J. Ryan of Alton, Ill.; Bishop A. F. Schinner of Superior, Wis.; Bishop J. Schwebach of La Crosse, Wis.; Bishop J. W. Shaw of San Antonio, Tex.; Bishop Wm. Stang of Fall River, Mass.; Bishop J. Stariha of Lead, S. D.; Bishop Van de Ven of Alexandria, La.; Bishop Van de Vyver of Richmond, Va.; Bishop P. Verdaguer of Brownsville, Tex.; Bishop D. J. Dougherty of Jaro, P. I. (now Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia, Pa.); Bishop H. Althoff of Belleville, Ill.; Bishop John Gunn of Natchez, Miss.; Bishop Ward of Leavenworth, Kans.; Bishop John McCort, Auxiliary of Philadelphia, Pa.; Bishop T. F. Hickey of Rochester, N. Y.; Bishop E. D. Kelley, Auxiliary of Detroit, Mich.; Bishop P. J. Nussbaum of Corpus Christi, Tex.; Bishop T. O'Connell of Richmond, Va.; Bishop J. H. Tihen of Lincoln, Neb.; Bishop L. Walsh, Portland, Me.; Bishop V. Wehrle of Bismark, N. D.; Bishop M. J. Curley of St. Augustine.

THE HOLY FATHER'S ENDORSEMENT

The Federation labored under three pontificates and received the repeated approbation and blessing of Leo XIII, Pius X and Benedict XV. In a special letter sent by Pope Pius X to Federation under date of March 28, 1906, His Holiness said among other things:

“We rejoice at the fruits you have already gathered in the American Federation of Catholic Societies and see the hope and the promise of still more in the future. May the labors of the Federation, which has begun with the prudence worthy of the highest praise, be crowned with the blessing and the assistance of God.”

Pope Benedict sent his blessing through Cardinal Gibbons at the Baltimore Convention. Cardinal Gibbons, who had just returned from the conclave at Rome, gave this message to Federation:

“So far as I know I was the first one to be given an audience by Pope Benedict XV, and was probably the first one authorized to bestow the blessing of the new pope. This blessing His Holiness sent to the American Federation of Catholic Societies and to all members of affiliated organizations.”

Another message received from Rome at the same convention stated:

“The Holy Father wishes the Federation every success in its work and prays for its prosperity.”

SECULAR PRESS ENDORSES FEDERATION

The work of Federation has not only received the warmest encomiums of Catholic leaders, but the secular press was profuse in its praise of Federation's activities:

The New York Times said: “All the conservative elements of the country ought to unite with Federation in securing legislation in conformity with the views expressed in its resolutions and declarations.”

The Boston Herald said: “The Federation of Roman Catholic lay societies has proved a powerful agency for stopping vice and corruption.”

The Pittsburgh Daily Post (August 12, 1909) said: “The Federation is a truly militant organization which strikes body blows at so many evils: the white slave trade, the divorce evil, profane language and the base theatre. Federation fights in the open. It is an inspiring battle and the world will be better for it.”

The Buffalo Commercial says: “What appealed to us most strongly in Federation is the courageous faith with which the representatives of Catholic societies grapple the live wire problems of the hour. Federation said much about Socialism, yet nothing has been said at which any Socialist could take offense. The existence of conditions that provoke the discontent out of which Socialism grows is admitted, but the Church declares the remedy for these ills lies in the Sermon on the Mount rather than in the writings of Marx and Engels. This is wisdom.”

The Pittsburgh Christian Advocate (Methodist Episcopal) (Aug., 1909) said: "We wish to join hands with the Federation as fellow workers for righteousness and fight with Federation for the suppression of the tremendous evils which threaten our national and social life."

The Jewish Independent said: "The Catholic Federation deserves a great deal of credit for the stand it has taken against filth on the stage."

Zion's Herald, a Methodist Episcopal organ, says: "The Boston convention of the Catholic Federation was remarkable in its Biblical setting and exercises, and in its treatment of the palpable evils of the day. It still remains true that Protestantism in New England is being outranked by the Roman Catholic Church and the reason lies exclusively in the fact that it does not believe as does the Catholic Church, in the essential certitudes of the Christian revelation."

The Ohio State Journal of Columbus, Ohio, said: "Every one of the addresses made before the Catholic Federation Convention (held in Columbus, Ohio) has gone down to the bed rock of truth. These eloquent appeals for the advancement of the cause of morality and religion are applauded by every right-thinking man and woman."

The Baptist World of Louisville, Ky., said: "Federation made no attack on Protestants. The social evil, the white slave traffic, child labor, women in industry, short hours and a living wage, the low theatre, all received careful and intelligent treatment. It was here that Catholics showed at their best. They are undoubtedly awake to the question of the hour."

WHAT FEDERATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED

The question is frequently asked, says Bishop McFaul, "*What has Federation accomplished?*" Prominent may be mentioned: Assisting in the creation of a Catholic public opinion in the United States. Urged the repeal of the obnoxious marriage law in Cuba. Betterment of conditions in the Philippines and Porto Rico. Appointment of Catholics on the Indian and Philippine Commissions. Permission granted for the celebration of Holy Mass in the navy yards, public institutions, prisons and reform schools. Assisting Catholic Negro Missions. Introduction of Catholic books in public libraries. Fostering friendly relations between societies—especially of different nationalities. A move toward stricter divorce laws. Revision of histories and books of reference prejudicial to the Catholic Church. Assisted in the restoration by the Government of rations to Catholic Indian scholars, and in the defeat of the Bard amendment affecting the rights

of Catholic Indians. Final acceptance of the Father Marquette statue by our Government. Consideration shown our Catholic Filipino students. Inaugurating a general crusade against indecent and immoral literature, pictures, post cards, theatricals and advertisements. The Congo question. In Ohio the State Federation prevented the State from interfering in Catholic orphanages and institutions. County support is also being given to Catholic hospitals in several localities. The Federation in New Jersey killed a legislative bill which would have made the parochial schools taxable. Several measures detrimental to Catholics have been killed through the efforts of our Catholic societies in Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Pennsylvania and Kentucky. The Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky and Kansas Federations and the Catholic societies of Missouri defeated a measure to furnish free textbooks in the public schools. Inauguration of Catholic lecture courses. Mission to non-Catholics. Distribution of Catholic literature. In several localities laws have been enacted for a proper "observance of Sunday." Agitation on the school question. Encouragement given to probation work. Exposing indecent and bigoted publishing houses. Looking towards the removal of bigoted officials from holding public office. Investigations in the Judge Wilfley matter, United States Consular Judge in China. Assisted in the passage of the Philippine Appropriation Bill for Church damages. Investigation in the "American Red Cross" expenditures for Messina earthquake sufferers. Assisting in the suppression of the white slave traffic. Procured the co-operation of the Bill Posters' Association of the United States and Canada in the stamping out of indecent and sacrilegious posters. Many reputable business men withdrew their patronage from magazines containing scurrilous articles on Catholic priests and the hierarchy, after Federation had drawn their attention to these calumnious articles. Caused the removal of scurrilous pictures of monks. The Ferrer case and the McClure's Magazine. Protested against the insults heaped upon our Holy Father by the Mayor of Rome and protested against his coming to the Panama Exposition. Established friendly relations between the A. F. of C. S. and the American Federation of Labor. Forwarded an open letter on the indecent drama to the leading theatrical producers in the United States. Procured the co-operation of several leading theatrical producers who promised to suppress the indecent drama. Compiled and circulated a "black list" of theatrical plays and moving pictures with view of their suppression. Sent a special committee to the President of the United States and Secretary of State protesting against the persecu-

tion of priests and nuns in Mexico. Doing effective Social Service work, etc., etc.

FEDERATION CRITICS

The Federation has had its critics. Upon investigation it was learned that these critics had never attended a National Convention, had never been identified with the work of Federation in their localities and had never taken any pains to study the Federation movement. The best answers to these critics were given by Bishop R. Canevin of Pittsburgh, Pa., and Cardinal O'Connell of Boston, Mass., both of whom were for many years members of Federation's Advisory Boards. Bshop Canevin said:

"Anyone who has watched the progress of Federation in the past ten years must be surprised. I believe it has accomplished in these ten years in Catholic activities more than has been done in the preceding fifty years. Its work has been so successful that it has aroused some antagonism and some criticism in some quarters, but that is the highest compliment that could be paid Federation and the highest testimonial to the excellence and success of its work. No good work has ever been undertaken and carried on without arousing criticism. Criticism and opposition are often the very best evidences that we are doing something and achieving something."

Cardinal O'Connell said:

"Until the critic is met equally in the face we shall continue to hear the same half-concealed, wholly petty and querulous animadversion about Federation which again and again has been answered by the officers and those Bishops and Archbishops whose courage and foresight and zeal have strenuously upheld this great movement against back-door whisperings, and by the Holy Father himself who in the clearest words has endorsed and blessed Federation's purpose and its work."

AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

From a little mustard seed the Federation movement in the United States grew in strength and power each year. The report made at the Sixteenth National Convention in 1917 disclosed that the Federation movement had been introduced into practically every state of the Union, into Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, Canal Zone and the Philippines. Diocesan units, county units, leagues and Federation centers were established in California, Colorado, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, Vermont, Wisconsin, Washington.

The following national Catholic Societies were affiliated with the Federation: Catholic Order of Foresters, German Roman Catholic Central Verein, Catholic Knights of America, Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, Knights of St. John, Irish Catholic Benevolent Union, Western Catholic Union, Women's Catholic Order of Foresters, Young Men's Institute, Bohemian Catholic Union of Texas, Ancient Order of Hibernians, Ladies' Auxiliary A. O. H., South Slavonie Union, Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters, Catholic Church Extension Society U. S. A., Catholic Indian Congress, Catholic Mutual Protective Association, Catholic Young Men's National Union, Catholic Knights and Ladies of America, Knights of Father Matthew, Daughters of Columbia, Catholic Press Association of the U. S. A., Catholic Ladies of Columbia, Knights of St. George, Bohemian Roman Catholic First Union, Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance, Catholic Colonization Society, Catholic Association of Porto Rico, Catholic Educational Association, Ladies' Auxiliary Knights of St. John, Ladies' Catholic Benevolent Association, Several hundred Councils of Knights of Columbus.

The Federation represented about 3,000,000.

OFFICERS OF THE FEDERATION

This vast machinery was controlled by an Advisory Board composed of members of the hierarchy, by an Executive Board and National Officers. In 1917 the following were members of these boards:

Advisory Board: His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, D. D., Baltimore; His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, D. D., Boston; His Eminence John Cardinal Farley, D. D., New York; Most Rev. S. G. Messmer, D. D., Milwaukee, Wis.; Most Rev. J. J. Glennon, D. D., St. Louis, Mo.; Rt. Rev. Regis Canevin, D. D., Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rt. Rev. B. J. Keiley, D. D., Savannah, Ga.; Rt. Rev. Joseph Schrembs, D. D., Toledo, Ohio; Rt. Rev. P. J. Muldoon, D. D., Rockford, Ill.; Rt. Rev. J. P. Carroll, D. D., Helena, Mont.; Rt. Rev. P. J. Donahue, D. D., Wheeling, W. Va.; Rt. Rev. D. J. Donaghue, D. D., Louisville, Ky.; Rt. Rev. D. J. O'Connell, D. D., Richmond, Va.; Rt. Rev. T. F. Lillis, D. D., Kansas City, Mo.

National Officers: Thos. P. Flynn, Chicago, Ill., President; J. J. Hynes, Buffalo, N. Y., Vice President; J. A. Coller, Shakopee, Minn., Vice President; Joseph Frey, K. S. G., New York, Vice President; Geo. Reinhardt, Kansas City, Mo., Vice President; Jos. McLaughlin, Philadelphia, Pa., Vice President; E. J. Cooney, Louisville, Ky., Vice President; Anthony Matré, K. S. G., Chicago, Secretary; C. H.

Schulte, Detroit, Michigan, Treasurer; Chief Shooting Hawk, Yankton, S. D., Color Bearer.

Executive Board: Thos. H. Cannon, Chicago, Ill.; Nicholas Goner, K. S. G., Dubuque, Ia.; Edward Feeney, K. S. G., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Daniel Duffy, Pottsville, Pa.; C. W. Wallace, Columbus, Ohio; H. V. Cunningham, K. S. G., Boston, Mass.; Chas. I. Denechaud, K. S. G., New Orleans, La.; F. W. Heckenkamp, Jr., Quincy, Ill.; F. W. Mansfield, Boston, Mass.; R. B. Ennis, Pittsburgh, Pa.; John P. Chew, St. Louis, Mo.

NATIONAL CONVENTION CITIES

The sixteen National Conventions were held in the following cities: In 1901 at Cincinnati, Ohio, sponsored by Archbishop W. H. Elder, D. D.; 1902 at Chicago, Ill., sponsored by Bishop P. J. Muldoon, D. D.; 1903 at Atlantic City, N. J., sponsored by Bishop J. A. McFaul, D. D.; 1904 at Detroit, Mich., sponsored by Bishop J. S. Foley, D. D.; 1906 at Buffalo, N. Y., sponsored by Bishop C. H. Colton, D. D.; 1907 at Indianapolis, Ind., sponsored by Bishop F. S. Chatard, D. D.; 1908 at Boston, Mass., sponsored by Cardinal O'Connell, D. D.; 1909 at Pittsburgh, Pa., sponsored by Bishop R. Canevin, D. D.; 1910 at New Orleans, La., sponsored by Archbishop J. H. Blank, D. D.; 1911 at Columbus, Ohio, sponsored by Bishop J. J. Hartley, D. D.; 1912 at Louisville, Kentucky, sponsored by Bishop D. O'Donaghue, D. D.; 1913 at Milwaukee, Wis., sponsored by Archbishop S. G. Messmer, D. D.; 1914 at Baltimore, Md., sponsored by Cardinal Gibbons, D. D.; 1915 at Toledo, Ohio, sponsored by Bishop J. Schrembs, D. D.; 1916 at New York, N. Y., sponsored by Cardinal Farley, D. D.; 1917 at Kansas City, Mo., sponsored by Bishop Thos. F. Lillis, D. D.

A condensed report of each National Convention will appear in future issues of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW.

Chicago, Ill.

ANTHONY MATRÉ, K. S. G.

BISHOP ENGLAND'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH BISHOP ROSATI

Among the numerous documents preserved in the Archives of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, there are nine manuscript letters and one circular, addressed by Bishop John England of Charleston to Bishop Joseph Rosati of St. Louis. They are, with the one exception, in the Bishop's handwriting. The earliest one is dated Charleston, S. C., December 29, 1826; the latest one, Charleston, S. C., August 14, 1838. With the exception of the Latin circular, they are all in English. Being written under the continual pressure of the pioneer Bishop's many cares and labors, they naturally lack the literary polish of other and lesser men's work; but their familiarity of tone and occasional negligence of style do not impair, to any serious degree, the vigor of thought and language of this truly great man. For a great man and a great Bishop, John England certainly was; in fact one of the greatest.

Born in Cork, Ireland, September 23, 1786, of a staunch Catholic family that had suffered greatly under the penal laws, he first turned to the study of law, but after two years' strict application entered the Seminary of Carlow to prepare himself for the priesthood. He was ordained October 10, 1808, and soon after appointed head of St. Mary's Theological Seminary.

When the Diocese of Charleston was established, embracing the Carolinas and Georgia, Dr. England was chosen as its first Bishop, and was consecrated in St. Finbar's Cathedral on September 21, 1820, by Bishop Murphy of Cork. The new diocese had only two churches and two priests. On his arrival the Bishop set out on a visitation of his vast field of labor, seeking out and bringing together his scattered flock. In an area of 127,000 square miles there were about 1,000 Catholics, white and black, among a population of 1,063,000. The Protestant spirit was strong and aggressive. But the spirit of Bishop England took up the gage of battle against bigotry and prejudice, whilst holding the shield of faith over his own people, and so inspired them with the courage of their convictions. He purchased a lot in the city of Charleston and built on it a temporary wooden structure to do duty as his cathedral, and named it in honor of St. Finbar, the patron saint of Cork. And he, the Bishop, took up his abode in an humble cottage adjoining the church. Hugh P. McElrone, in the

Memoir prefixed to his Selection from Bishop England's works, describes him in characteristic fashion: "Unterrified by the alarm and horror his presence excited, behold him walking down Broad Street, hands clasped behind his back, buckled shoes, traditional knee-short clothes, frock coat with military flaps, wide-brimmed quaker hat, purple Roman collar, close-buttoned vest—never with cigar or snuff-box in hand,—for he detested Virginia's weed,—such as he is, poor as a beggar, but independent as a king."¹

The Church of America needed such men in those early days of "sturt and strife."

Bishop England was a man of high courage. When a formidable band of rowdies threatened to burn his churches and institutions, and when the civil authorities refused to make a move against the disturbers of the peace, the Bishop called upon his sturdy Irishmen to repel the threatened attack, with the effect of cowing the aggressors and shaming the bigots.

Bishop England was the first man in the United States to publish a Catholic weekly, the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, the first number of which was issued in 1821, and which continued to appear until 1861. Dr. England had been one of the first and strongest supporters of Daniel O'Connell in Ireland. "With Bishop England at my back," the Great Liberator once said in a reminiscient mood, "I would not fear the whole world before me." The defense of the cause of Ireland fills many a page of the *Miscellany*.²

Bishop England was the first and most earnest promoter of Provincial Councils. He attended the first four Councils of Baltimore, and by his wise counsels, as well as by his eloquent appeals, stood foremost among the American prelates.

The letters of Bishop England, which we are about to submit to

¹The Works of the Right Rev. John England, Bishop of Charleston, S. C., with Memoir Memorials, Notes, a Full Index by Hugh P. McElvone, in two volumes, Baltimore, (1884) vol. I, p. xiii.

²"He established the *United States Catholic Miscellany*," and found time amongst his immense and various occupations, to supply its columns with a vast amount of original matter, not always, perhaps as perfect in literary polish, as if he had read over the blotted manuscript before it was hurried to the printer, but always resistless in reasoning, charming by its fervid eloquence, overwhelming with its accumulated condition. The volumes of the *Catholic Miscellany* are very rare. We have in our Library two bound volumes of the series from July to December, 1824, and from January to June, 1825. Each weekly number contains sixteen pages of reading matter. The format is 8½ by 5½ inches; the paper is excellent. The contents are essays, letters occasional sermons, ecclesiastical news and poetry.

the public, were written to Bishop Joseph Rosati, the first Bishop of the Diocese of St. Louis, a man of deep learning, untiring zeal, gentle winning manners and unaffected piety. In making clearer some of the matters touched upon by Bishop England we will quote from the writings of Bishop Rosati. It is a matter of regret that we have not been able to obtain copies of Bishop Rosati's part of the correspondence: what we have found we will give.

Charleston, S. C., Dec. 29, 1826.

Right Rev. Sir—

The departure of Doctor Dubourg has placed me in some difficulty as to the exercise of jurisdiction. He requested of me to act as his vicar general, *in spiritualibus* for East Florida. I appointed to the care of St. Augustine, a Rev. Timothy McCarthy, who for some time conducted himself very well, but latterly he has disgraced our religion. Finding that Doctor Dubourg left this country without writing to me & having no communication with you, I am at a loss to know whether you have succeeded to the See of New Orleans, & whether I have lost my delegated jurisdiction over East Florida, as the principal from whom I had it has resigned. In this state of things I have forborne to act, lest I might be intruding upon another jurisdiction.

I do not think that Mr. McCarthy ought to be permitted to remain one hour in authority in any place in the Catholic Church, & I have no one to replace him. I want six or seven priests for my own Diocese, & must naturally give a preference thereto &, if Florida is neglected, the people will, as many have fall into other hands than ours.—Will you have the good-ness to give me some information upon this subject.

There is another large and interesting portion of territory, and I know not in whose charge it is.—Alabama and Mississippi! The Catholics of Alabama have frequently applied to me, and I was told by the Archbishop that Doctor Dubourg undertook to have it supplied. I beg to inform you that I know several Catholics there who complain to me that the faith of their children is in danger of being lost. Upon this subject I would refer you in the first instance to Mr. Luke Howard of Tuscumbia. I know persons who left my diocese to settle in Alabama; they were Catholics and even at the sacraments, and now because they have no ministry, they have left the church, and joined sectaries. The Archbishop informed me that it is in charge of the Bishop of New Orleans. I have been asked by the people to whom they should apply for a pastor, and I cannot tell them; will you please to inform me if you can?

I perceive by the newspapers that you have lately consecrated a Bishop. Will you be good enough to inform me of his title and residence and the extent of his jurisdiction. On those occasions any information conveyed to the Editors of the Catholic Miscellany in this city would be most acceptable and useful.

We know too little of each other and though embarked in a common cause, we have unfortunately no common concert. Any information you could have sent to us from your Western Churches would be a great favor conferred on, Right Rev. Sir,

Your affectionate Brother in Christ

John, Bishop of Charleston.

In answer to these enquiries, Bishop Rosati wrote substantially as follows:

To Bishop England, Charleston:

Your favours of the 29th Dec. came to hand only on the 22nd February, a few days before my departure for this city. This has been the cause why I have not answered sooner. However I had taken the liberty to write to you about the beginning of last December. If you have received it, as I hope, you have already got the information that you wanted. Bishop Portier, before we parted soon after his consecration, intended to write to you. But as my letter might have been lost I (now write again).

The right Revd. Dr. Portier Bishop of Olenos has been appointed Apostolic Vicar for a district composed of the Floridas and Alabama. Therefore St. Augustine being within his jurisdiction, he will take the measures which you suggested to me, and withdraw the powers etc. He resides presently in Pensacola, but after Easter he intends to visit St. Augustine.

On the resignation of Bishop Dubourg, the Diocese of Louisiana has been divided in two; that of New Orleans, and that of St. Louis. The former embraces the state of Louisiana and of Mississippi; the latter the state of Missouri the Territory of Arkansas and the other adjacent territories formerly called Upper Louisiana. The administration of both Dioeceses has been for the present intrusted to me; but another Bishop must be appointed; I wish I may be allowed to remain in Missouri & I have been requested by some Catholics of Natchez to send a pastor. It is not now in my power, having no — &.

I am of your opinion that more communication and more concert amongst us would be very beneficial to religion. Convinced as I am of my insufficiency I will think it not only my duty, but also my happiness to profit by the knowledge and experience of my worthy brethren in the Episcopacy. But I do not flatter you R. R. S. if I tell you that I have a particular esteem of and veneration for your talents and piety, and if you permit me, I shall often have recourse to this assistance."

This communication is derived from a notebook in which Bishop Rosati was accustomed to copy the substance of his letters for his own information. There are eight such fasciculi in the archives of the St. Louis Historical Society, one of the series No. VII is lost. The one we used is No. III.

Bishop Michael Portier accompanied Bishop Du Bourg to America in 1817, completed his theological studies at Baltimore and was ordained priest by Bishop Du Bourg at St. Louis in 1818. He was consecrated by Bishop Rosati at St. Louis November 5, 1826, under the title of Bishop of Olenos, i. p. i. His residence was at Mobile, which in 1829 was made a diocese. He died at Mobile May 14, 1859.

Bishop England's answer was delayed by his absence from home.

Augusta, (Ga.), March 22, 1827.

Right Rev. and dear Sir.

I received some time since a very acceptable letter from you written at Barrons on December last. For the information and the compliments contained in which, I beg of you to accept my best thanks.

I had previously written to you, but know not whether my letter reached its destination. Your letter of December, however, satisfied me as to whom the jurisdiction of Florida was vested in. I am perfectly at a loss where to direct a letter to Bishop Portier and feel very desirous of having a communication with him upon the subject of the very unfortunate state of St. Augustine, where there is a Priest totally unfit for his place, whom I had the misfortune of ordaining and appointing and now do not think I have the power of removing.

I am desirous of publishing in the Miscellany a statistical account of our Church in the United States upon the plan of the *Almanach du clerge of France* and of the *Roman Almanach* and of the *English Directory*. Should you approve of it you would oblige me very much by sending me or procuring to be sent the necessary information, for the Diocese of New Orleans and St. Louis, viz: Extent of territory; 2. Date of erection of the See; 3. Succession of Bishops; 4. Names, time and place of birth and date of appointment and time and place of consecration of the present Bishop and, who were the consecrators and assistants; 5. Number of parishes; 6. Number of Churches; 7. Number of Priests on the Mission; 8. Number of Catholics and of other denominations; 9. Seminaries and Colleges and Convents, and the history and particulars of each, together with any other interesting matter.

This year the Miscellany is likely to cost us \$250 over its income unless exertion be made to procure subscribers. May I solicit your favorable attention to this circumstance together with my request that you would exhort your clergy to aid by recommending it to their people and either becoming agents therefore or procuring those who would be good agents and communicating information to us for its columns.

I am now on the visitation of this state and hope to be in Charlestown before Palm Sunday.

May I assure you, very dear sir, of my sincere esteem, and requesting a participation of your prayers and sacrifices subscribe myself

Your affectionate brother in Christ

John, Bishop of Charleston.

Bishop Rosati sent an answer to this letter on June 16. The entry in his letter book referring to it consists of scraps of information hastily jotted down. We transcribe it, and add a few explanatory notes.

To Bishop England, Charleston.

Your favours of the 22nd March came to hand no sooner than the 25th June, having been absent for several months from the Seminary.

A statistical account of our church published in the Miscellany would be read with great satisfaction in the Catholic Miscellany. Therefore I have endeavored with pleasure to give you the information you desire; as I have received your letter only a few weeks ago, I could not have sufficient time to procure the further & &.

Since the preceding accts. I have received letters from Propaganda that I have been appointed Bp. of St. Louis & Cath. Pop. of St. 3000. 600 paschal communions. of Cahokia 200 fam. 200 communicants; of Carondelet, 100 fam. 100 comm. Gen. Thom. James (Post Office James Mill, Monroe County, Illinois) and Mr. St. Vrain Merchant in Kaskaskiae & offer their services as agents; Mr. Dahmen subscription paid, and not received his papers. My acct. to be sent by the letters &.''

It is evident that Bishop Rosati was well pleased with the plan of "A Statistical Account of the Church in America," and he, no doubt, furnished other information to Bishop England in addition to what is given in the present concept of the letter. The *Account* was elaborated in 1836 and sent to Rome in September of that year. It is printed in the Collection of Bishop England's works, published 1849, Vol. III, p. 226 sq. Bishop England lays particular stress upon the great losses the Church has sustained by the emigration of Catholics from Europe to the United States. "We may unhesitatingly assert, that the Catholic Church, has within the last fifty years, lost millions of members in the United States," is what he says; and the main reason for the losses is given as "the absence of a clergy sufficiently numerous and properly qualified for the missions in the United States." The proportion of practical Catholics to the number of Catholic families in the city of St. Louis would give one communicant to every family. In Cahokia and Carondelet the proportion was the same.

Between the 22nd day of March, 1827, and the 18th day of September, 1832, we have no written communication from Bishop England to Bishop Rosati. But in 1829 the two prelates met at the first Provincial Council of Baltimore, held in October of that year, under the presidency of Archbishop Whitfield. Bishop England was here selected to write the Pastoral letter of the Fathers of the Council to the Clergy and Laity of the United States. In the eighth Private Session of the Council Bishops England and Rosati were joined together in a commission for the purpose of preparing a *Book of Ceremonies*. Bishop Rosati was requested to write a letter to the Sovereign Pontiff in regard to the Decrees of the Council. In the letter the Fathers take occasion to recite the various causes that have hindered a more rapid progress of the church, chief among them, the dearth of laborers for the vineyard, and the scandals caused by some of those that were sent or allowed to come to America, on the principle that anything was good enough for America.

It was about the middle of the year 1832 that Bishop England started for Europe for the purpose of seeking men and means for his diocese of Charleston. In a printed circular and a brief postscript he notified Bishop Rosati of the fact:

*Joannes England, Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis Gratia
Episcopus Carolopolitanensis,
Omnibus has præsentibus inspecturis, Salutem, etc.*

Europam propter negotia gravia ecclesiastica petīturi; notum volumus, nos omnes facultates, tam ordinarias quam extraordinarias, nobis pro regimine atque administratione nostræ Dioceseos quobilet perventus, R. R. P. P. D. D. Jacobo Whitfield,

Archiepiscopo Baltimorensi, atque Michaeli Portier, Episcopo Mobiliensi, tamquam Vicariis nostris generalibus impertivisse; eisque vel alterutri vel alteri eorum ut tali, a nobis subditis pariendum atque opitulandum, in Deo injungimus.

Praeterea omnes facultates quascumque pro administratione Dioeceseos necessarias, omnemque jurisdictionem, exceptis pro promotione ad ordines, pro litteris dimissorialibus concedendis, vel pro censuris a nobis vel a Vicario nostro generali inflictis vel infligendis levandis, concedimus usque ad nostrum reditum commissioni trium nostrae dioeceseos presbyterorum, viz. Vicario qui Praeses erit, Custodi Sigilli atque Secretario: ita ut ad valide agendum, necesse erit, una cum praeside unum vel alterum ex aliis duobus consentire: uno vero cum praeside consentiente, uterque tenetur ad instrumentum conficiendum, cum opus fuerit, concurrere, atque ad decretum exequendum: omnibusque injungimus obedientiam atque reverentiam huic administrationi.

Si vero locus Praesidis, sive Custodis Sigilli, vel Secretarii vacare contigerit, morte, cessione, vel amotione a nostro Vicario Generali facto, sive alio quolibet modo; Vicarii nostri generalis erit alium sacerdotum loco vacato subrogare: quique ita subrogatus fuerit, jurejurando coram vel Vicario Generali vel uno vel duobus aliis ex praedictis commissariis, ad munera officii fideliter adimplenda pro rite et valide ad officium promoti habetur.

Nosque volentes praedictae commissioni statim providere, constituimus sacerdotes nostrae Dioeceseos, Rev. P. Robertum Browne, Vicarium atque Praesidem, Rev. D. Andream Byrne, Custodem Sigilli, atque Rev. D. Richardum S. Baker, Secretarium; eosque in praedictis officiis constitutos per has praesentes declaramus, donec nobis vel Vicario nostro Generali aliter bene visum fuerit.

Datum apud Carolopolim, in Carolina Australi, die prima mensis Julii, anno millesimo octingentesimo trigesimo secundo,

Joannes, Episcopus Carolopolitanensis.

Ex mandato Illus. et Rev. Dni. Dni. mei.

Petrus Whelan, Secretarius.

Facultates extraordinariae concessae.

Commissioni pro administranda Dioecesi Carolopolitana, ab Episcopo, vi delegationis Apostolicae.

1. Dispensandi in irregularitatibus, exceptis illis quae ex homicidio voluntario provenirent.

2. Dispensandi et commutandi vota simplicia in alia pia opera.

3. Dispensandi in quiquaginta casibus, super secundo consanguinitatis vel affinitatis gradu, nullomodo primus gradus attingatur, tam in matrimonii contractis quam contrahendis, et in aliis omnibus casibus affin. vel consanguin. extra secundum.

4. Dispensandi in quinquaginta casibus, etiam in primo affinitatis gradu ex copula illio. per lineam sive, collat. sive rect. resultants, dummodo nullam sit dubium quod conjux possit esse proles ab altrutro contrahentium genita.

5. Dispensandi super imped. criminis, neutro tamen conjugum machinante; et restituendi jus debit. amiss. petendi.

6. Dispensandi in impedimento cognationis spiritualis.

7. Benedicendi, paramenta et alia utensilia ad sac. Missam necessaria, ubi non interveniat sac. unc.

8. Absolvendi ab Haeresi, Schismate et Apostasia a fide.

9. Celebrandi bis in die, si necessitas urgeat; et celebrandi sine ministro;

*rarissime et non sine gravissimo incommodo aliter orituro, hac facultas exer-
oenda.*

10. *Dispensandi quando expedire videbitur, super esu carniurn, ovorum et
lacticiniorum, tempore jejunii at Quadragesimae.*

11. *Dispensandi, cum aliter gravissime orientur incommoda, super imped.
cultus disparitatis.*

12. *Praedictas facultates aliis sacerdotibus communicandi.*

To this list of faculties the following note is appended:

Charleston, S. C., July 4, 1832.

Right Rev. and dear Sir

Upon the point of embarking for Europe & about to visit Rome, I feel it right to inform my brethren of where I have lodged my powers. I regret to add that the Archbishop declines—yet I have left him the power, if he pleases to use it.

My object is to procure labourers & means for my diocese. Should I be able to meet your wishes in any way I should be happy. Letters to Pitray Niel & Co., Havre, for me will me. Pray for me & be assured of the respect and attachment of

Your affectionate Brother in Christ

John, Bishop of Charleston.

Right Rev. Dr. Rosati.

Archbishop James Whitfield was an Englishman by birth and education; and not particularly friendly to the great Irish prelate in the American episcopacy, as will appear later on.

The next letter of Bishop England is dated

Dublin, (Ireland) Sept. 18th, 1832.

Right Rev. and Very Dear Sir.

Having spent about a month in this country (Ireland), I am now on the eve of my departure for Rome and I hope to be here on my return in the month of March. I feel that I owe it to you, to America, and to Ireland, to state what I have done for my own diocese in regard to procuring a good supply of proper candidates for orders and to suggest to you the utility of your acting on the same plan which would, I think secure you against the evils of want of a proper ministry and of hazard in receiving untried subjects or bad priests. Should you approve of the plan and signify the same to me, I could before my return to the U. S. communicate your wishes to the Prelates and Presidents of the colleges which I point out and you might thenceforth communicate with them yourself. There is a greater number of candidates for orders than the Irish Church requires and each Bishop selects at examinations those whom he thinks most useful for his diocese. Amongst the remainder are several excellent subjects, the better amongst them are in the habit of then offering for the English missions; and a few have gone across the Atlantic, but generally these last were those who had least hopes in Europe. The Irish Prelates are now disposed to give a preference to the church of the province and to afford us every aid to secure good priests. I now have secured candidates of superior promise, several of whom have nearly finished their course of study, and I have regulated with

the prelates who form the board of Trustees of Maynooth College and with the President of that College and of Carlow the following plan:

1—This board meets thrice in the year. I write to them that I shall want in that year one, two or more candidates. They select from those who present themselves so many of the best promise, and recommend them to spend a year or two prosecuting their studies in the College of Maynooth or Carlow at the option of the candidate.

2—I then authorize the President of the college to receive in my name such number as I may want of those candidates, provided their talents and conduct give good assurance of their being useful in my diocese after one or two years probation at Carlow or Maynooth.

3—I will not have any candidates ordained for me; but when he is approved of by the President of the college, I pledge myself, if he brings a certificate to that effect, that I will receive him and afford him the opportunity of completing his studies; and if I find his conduct good and his acquirements sufficient, that I will ordain him and give him a mission.

4—*Ceteris partibus*, I will prefer a candidate who will be able to pay the expenses of his voyage and education; but if such cannot be had, I will try to assist in both and, at all events, if he be highly recommended and has no means, I will have him kept free of expense upon his arrival in America until I find his conduct such as to require his rejection.

Should you approve of this plan for your diocese and desire to conclude an arrangement upon it as a basis, I have no doubt you could be well and regularly supplied to your satisfaction. If you do—be good to copy the above with any modifications you may think proper, and I shall upon my return hither so make the arrangement in your name as to enable you to communicate with those Prelates & Presidents & thenceforth secure to yourself good and useful candidates. Should you want any immediately, be good enough to mention how many and of what kind and also if you can defray if necessary any of the expenses of their voyage and education and how (much).

I shall (God willing) leave this place for France and Italy in the course of a week; probably I shall be in Naples sometime in January and would be happy to hear from you, or if you could write thither to some person there to aid me in two ways: first I am desirous of obtaining for our Mission in Charleston some specimens of natural curiosities or works of art, so as to put our Protestant Americans under a compliment to Catholic Italy, & second, to get some books, for my poor library and seminary. I rely on your kind and friendly disposition to aid me.

I wish you saw our bishops here (in Ireland), how attached to each other, how firm in a common mode of action against a common enemy, how completely they understand each other and act in full concert, and how religion is thereby promoted: it arises from their frequent meetings, half of them meet twice a year, and all of them once in the year. You would be greatly pleased at the vast improvement daily making. I hope we shall in America meet at least every third year. It is absolutely necessary. I trust no obstacle will be put to it. I shall take Ursuline Nuns to Charleston upon my return. Believe me to be, my dear Sir—

Your affectionate Brother in Christ,

John, Bishop of Charleston.

The Right Rev. Doctor Rosati.

This plan was certainly an improvement over the haphazard way that was customary heretofore. Yet Bishop Rosati does not seem to have been interested in it, as he had a seminary of his own.

The next letter of Bishop England to Bishop Rosati is dated

Rome, January 14, 1833.

Right Rev. and very dear friend:

You see that I am in the Holy City in your own dear Italy. I arrived here on Christmas day, after having made a long journey.

I wrote to you from Ireland, after which I came through England to France, where in Lyons and Paris I had some explanations with the Society of the Propaganda and got some aid from the Archbishop of Paris.

Thence I went through Switzerland and Bavaria to Vienna, but unfortunately for my object which was to get money, too late, as in October they had 40,000 florins which they divided between Cincinnati and Baltimore, giving to the first 25,000 and to the second 15,000. They knew scarcely anything of our situation; I, at their request wrote a statement of all our dioceses, which occupied me ten days, and gave them some notion of our relative wants and difficulties. In addition, I had the no. of the Annales of Lyons, that had your letters and those of your clergy upon the state of your missions, and I gave them this, stating also, what I knew to be your labours. I would advise you in addition to write yourself to his Highness the Prince Archbishop of Vienna who is president of Leopoldinen Stiftung and who is a very good man and disposed to aid us. My letters given to the Austrian Consul in New York did not reach. I think you had better send postpaid to New York to go by Havre, or send to some friend in France to post your letter there. The Nuncio, Olstini helped me much to excite their zeal and presented me to the emperor to thank him for his kindness in permitting the society to exist, and to the king of Hungary to thank him for being its protector, and went with me to Prince Metternich for a similar purpose. Now for news. I suppose you know long since the arrival of the resignation of our good Father of Bardstown, that it has been accepted, and that David is now Bishop of Bardstown, and our senior Suffragan, Chabrat, is coadjutor. Blanc's resignation has also been accepted, and De Nekere will get no coadjutor, but must do his own duty. Detroit will be separated from Cincinnati and made a see, of which Resé will, I think, be Bishop. Jeanjean has had his passport stolen in France, was kept under a long quarantine in the first Italian port, put into prison at Civita Vecchia, locked out by your friends, the Lazarists, for not being home in time, when he was at the Propaganda, and was taken into the Propaganda, where he now is. He tells me that you want to have the missions on the western side of Illinois added to your Diocese, which you already describe as the largest in the whole world. I was amused at the semblance of a reason that he gave, and the seriousness with which he urged it. viz. that you could not easily go through your own diocese to your seminary if this was in another diocese. I was asked by Castracane my opinion of it. I said that I suspected you were very fond of missions for which you had done so much and that they were and ought to be very fond of you and that this was the only reason. I said for giving them to you, if Vincennes were ever to be made a See, that it would be folly to make a see of it now, if these were taken away, that it was exceedingly inconvenient to divide a state between two dioceses, that it would at a future day give rise to similar

disputes as now exist between New York and Philadelphia respecting New Jersey, and though I would prefer if you approved of it, giving Illinois and Indiana to Vincennes and making a new see. Yet that I would never wish to give you a moment's pain, and therefore it would perhaps be as well for the present to give you the whole of Illinois and to give Indiana to Cincinnati, for that they could not be better minded than by you, and that the Bishop of Bardstown then would perhaps be enabled to do something for Tennessee. I added, that these were only my notions, and that I was by no means friendly to having decisions made upon the statements of one or two individuals, that my advice would be to have all these questions examined in Provincial Councils and, after receiving their report and advice, Rome could safely decide. I think it fair to state openly to you what I said, so that if it be not too late, you may correct it. I told the same to Jeanjean.

Now as to Cincinnati. The Jesuits are working hard to prevent Kenneys' being named to its charge. The Dominicans are working equally hard to have it made an apanage of their order, and are proposing Mr. Miles. Kenrick has whitten to me to say you wished Reze, but he appears to have been disposed of. Purcell of Emmetsburg was mentioned also by Kenrick and, though I mentioned nothing to anyone in authority, as I was asked nothing, I was thinking of Power of New York. But as yet it is impossible for anyone to see his way through the case.

Blanc's resignation has been accepted and De Nekere must do his duty whether he will or not, as he will get no coadjutor.

I now have to inform you of my perfect disappointment at the conduct of our Archbishop (Whitfield); and to say that, notwithstanding all my affection and respect for him, I cannot be satisfied with the manner in which he has treated his suffragans and the canons of the former Provincial council sanctioned by the Holy See, by which we were to have met in last October. Before I came hither, I suspected that he might have got some secret instructions upon the subject, and that Rome did not wish us to meet. Here I was asked upon the subject and I enquired and find that the opinion is exactly in unison with that which I always entertained which is that of the Council of Trent, that these Provincial Councils are most useful and that Rome is ready to give every aid in her power to enable us to proceed with the good that has been commenced. I stated that I neither was nor could be content with the way in which the Province was managed without common consultation and that, if I did not err greatly, my brethren generally thought with me, that great good was done by our last synod, and that the repetition would be attended by the most salutary consequences. Yet that unfortunately the Archbishop could not be persuaded that any good was done by the last or would arise from others, that I loved and respected him for his virtue and his good intentions, but that I could not sacrifice my judgment nor betray my duty.

I then showed the benefits which arose from the council and proceeded to show how, though we had unity of doctrine, we had no unity of action. Our opponents had their monthly, yearly and triennial meetings of presbyteries, synods, assemblies, conferences, conventions, and societies, by means of which they had common counsel, unity of action, concentrated force and powerful influence as well as public respect. Whilst they, by adopting this Catholic principle of ancient discipline, were daily and yearly growing compact, soothing their jealousies and collecting large means which they applied to common objects

after common consultation, we were a parcel of disunited congregations, having no common consultation, no unity of action, no rallying point, growing daily more jealous and more divided, and having no practical union, that I was tired and disheartened at this which I knew would constitute only an occasion of discontent even for those who without speaking would reflect. I was told that it was plain the councils would remove jealousies produce harmony and make us have common council and common action and make us more powerful and respected, and that Rome would be glad to have those effects produced. That if we did not meet, the fault was our own and that we had only, either to procure The Synod to be called at home or to express to the Holy See our wish to have it assemble, and that it would exert its power for the purpose.

I have here given you a faithful abstract and I now call upon you to say before God, whether I have spoken wrong. I beg you will give your opinion to the Propaganda as to what I have stated and let it be able, by your testimony to judge whether I have been in error or not. I know you too well to doubt your zeal for the welfare of the church, and if you think that welfare will be promoted by having a synod called, I know you care as little as any other for the labour necessary in promoting the glory of God and the prosperity of His Church. Let me beg of you to excuse the haste with which this is written as I am anxious to meet the post. I hope to leave by this Easter and do not expect to hear from you. I wish could induce the good Archbishop to call the Council for October, when I would hope to meet you. Believe me to be

Your affectionate Brother in Christ,

John, Bishop of Charleston.

This letter gives a deeper insight into American ecclesiastical currents and counter-currents of that early day. The relations of the American Bishops with the charitable missionary organizations of France and Germany, the desire of Bishop Rosati to have the Illinois missions added to his diocese, de jure as they were already de facto. The troubles of Bishop De Neckere of New Orleans in obtaining a coadjutor, the strange conduct of Archbishop Whitfield in matters of the Provincial Council, which should have been held in October of the previous year, call for a more extended commentary.

In regard to Bishop England's relations to the *Leopoldine Association* and the *Society for the Propagation of the Faith* of Lyons and Paris, we will quote the address of Bishop England, delivered at Charleston after his return from Rome, and published in the *Catholic Telegraph*, Vol. III, Page 3, Cincinnati, December 13, 1883. It reads as follows:

It was only on my arrival in Bavaria," said the Bishop, "that I began to discover, how much our churches are indebted to that excellent and zealous prelate Dr. Resé, lately placed in the newly erected see of Detroit. The mis-

³Castrucci Castracane, later Cardinal was at that time Secretary of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, or for short the Propaganda, a Roman Congregation in charge of the Affairs of all missionary countries among which the United States were then counted.

chievous enactment of several of the German princes had amongst other evils dammed up the current of alms in the Catholic Church. For purposes to which it is not now my province to advert, the state had prohibited its subjects from giving any benefaction or aid to any person or institution without its territory. Many of the Catholics of Germany, learning from emigrants the deplorable situation in which they found themselves at this side of the Atlantic, were anxious to help in erecting churches and procuring a clergy. The Rev. Dr. Resé visited his native country for the purpose of exposing to the view of its inhabitants the difficulties and the wants thus felt, and entreating their aid in removing them. The zeal of the people, urged them to contribute; but the law of the land forbade the contribution.

At Munich, he after considerable exertion, succeeded in having that law so far relaxed, as to permit one contribution to be made and transmitted. The venerable Archbishop of that see had the amount forwarded to the association in Paris, to be distributed among our churches; but owing to some cause, it had not reached that city, when I was there, or at least, if it did, it had not been received by the council of the Association. And though Bavaria has been charitable, we have not been aided. I have requested the Council at Paris, to have further enquiry made upon the subject; and our late Provincial Council have desired that letters should also be written to the proper quarters for an elucidation. It is surmised by some, that the money arrived in Paris at a period of considerable excitement, and was thus impeded in its progress to the American churches.

In Vienna, Dr. Resé has been successful. The Emperor of Austria, after due deliberation, abrogated the Law so far as it impeded the transmission of the benefactions of his subjects to the Churches of the United States: his brother the late Cardinal Rodolph became the Protector of the Society formed for the purpose; and when by the death the protectorate became vacant, it was filled up whilst I was in Vienna, in the beginning of last December, by the acceptance of the young King of Hungary, the heir apparent to the Austrian throne. Upon my arrival in that city, I found that the Council was altogether uninformed of the actual state of the churches. The active, enlightened and zealous Nuncio Monsignor Ostini, the Apostolic Archbishop of Vienna, (Milde) the President of the Association, his meritorious assistant (Leonard, Bishop of Alala,) and several other members of that Council told me, how necessary it was that they should have accurate information, and desired me to draw up such a narrative of the churches, as would enable them to perform their duty faithfully. I not only complied with their wishes in this respect, but I wrote to such of my brethren, as had not already communicated with them, or whose communications did not reach Vienna; that they might each furnish his own statement. I also had an audience with the Emperor to thank him for the relaxation of the law, and to inform him of the benefit thereby done our churches, and to assure him that in them, prayers should be offered for the welfare of his soul as a meritorious benefactor, I also waited on the young King of Hungary to thank him for accepting the Protectorate of the Society and to exhibit to him its beneficial effects. The Council has this year made a distribution among our churches, in which that of this Diocese has not been forgotten.⁴

⁴Catholic Telegraph, Cincinnati, vol iii, p. 3, reprinted in American Catholic Historical Researches.

The casual remark of Bishop England, "I suppose you know long since the arrival of the resignation of our good Father of Bardstown, that it has been accepted and that David is now Bishop of Bardstown and our senior suffragan, and that Chabrat is coadjutor," alludes to a veritable tragedy, that was nullified by the quick wit and resourcefulness of Bishop Rosati. Bishop Flaget had really resigned, and his resignation had been promptly accepted. The Coadjutor-Bishop John Baptist David, until then Bishop of Mauricastro and Coadjutor to Bishop Flaget, succeeded him in the see of Bardstown, and signed his name as such. And now came Bishop Rosati and turned back the rush of events, so that Bishop Flaget continued Bishop of Bardstown, and Bishop David, Superior of Nazareth, and that Mgr. Cabrat remained for a time in statu quo. How all this was effected, the two persons most interested shall tell us, Bishop Benedict Flaget and Bishop John Baptist David.

(To be concluded in April issue.)

REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER.

St. Louis, Mo.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Sesqui-Centennial at Cahokia.—The press is giving wide publicity to the projected observance of the 150th Anniversary of the establishment of the Old Northwest Territory.

Plans are now under way for the sesquicentennial, following the organization of the Northwest Territory commission of 100 residents of Cahokia, direct descendants of the early French settlers, and the preparation of incorporation papers by State Representative Thomas L. Fekete, of East St. Louis.

Under three flags, the fleur de lis of France, the Union Jack of Great Britain, and the stars and stripes of the United States, the destiny of the Territory has been formed for more than two hundred years. The states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin now comprises what was then an unbroken wilderness, inhabited by savages, wild beasts and a few traveling missionaries and tradesmen.

France was there first and stamped her policy and personality so firmly on the region that they were continually cropping out to harass the later American advance. Government under the French and English regimes was mainly paternal and military but within a very short time after Gen. George Rodgers Clark had won the country northwest of the Ohio, the state of Virginia, on the basis of its claim to that region, passed an act establishing the "County of Illinois," for the purpose of providing a temporary form of government and affording protection to the inhabitants.

On December 12, 1778, Patrick Henry, who was then governor of Virginia, appointed Colonel John Todd as county lieutenant. Col. Todd came to Kaskaskia in the spring of 1779 and set up his government but difficulties arose and he left the country in the fall of 1779 or 1780.

Virginia had been forced to withdraw its support of the Northwest Territory because of difficulties at home and the necessity for some sort of government for the organized western country had become very urgent.

Government for the territory was contained in the Ordinance of 1787, passed July 13 of that year and on October 5, General Arthur St. Clair was elected the first governor. General St. Clair had been president of the congress of the confederation at the time the Ordinance was passed.

Congress desired to admit Ohio to the Union as soon as possible so in May, 1800, an act of congress sliced away that state, and all that part lying west of a line beginning at the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River and running thence to Fort Recovery and thence north to the Canadian border was called Indiana territory. The census of that year showed only 4,875 persons, exclusive of Indians living in the territory.

A further division occurred in 1805 when congress detached all that part of the Indiana territory north and east of the southern extreme of Lake Michigan and called it the Territory of Michigan.

It was not until February 3, 1809, that the Illinois territory was set off by Congress.

Gleanings from Current Periodicals.—Associate editor, William Stetson Merrill, of the Newberry Library, Chicago, has contributed a valuable review of history in current periodicals which we think highly deserving of our editorial columns. Mr. Merrill's review follows:

Site of Fort De Crèvecoeur.—The final report of the committee appointed by the president of the Illinois Historical Society to designate the site of La Salle's Fort de Crèvecoeur, has been issued by the State of Illinois. It reproduces Franquelin's two maps, 1682 and 1684, and quotes in appendices documents written by La Salle, Tonti Fr. Membre and Fr. Hennepin. The history of the fort is thus sketched in outline: In January, 1680, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, entered the string of small lakes opposite and above the modern city of Peoria and encamped at an Indian village called Pimitéoui, situated on the site of the modern Averyville. On January 15, La Salle selected the position for the fort and began building it at once. It was finished in a few weeks. On March 1, La Salle himself started on a return journey to the East, and Father Hennepin the day before began his wanderings up the Mississippi River. Some days later Tonti received an order, sent back by La Salle, to inspect Starved Rock as a possible site for a permanent fort. During Tonti's absence sometime in April the troopers, left at Fort de Crèvecoeur, demolished the fort and deserted. The site was never again occupied except for a few days." Three sites were considered in the preliminary report previously made by the committee: (1) the Wesley site, now occupied by the village of Crèvecoeur; (2) the Lagron site, an area now traversed by the right of way of the Erie road; (3) the site chosen by the Daughters of the American Revolution. The final decision of the committee is in favor of the third. "Fort de Crèvecoeur stood about one league downstream from Peoria Lake." The evidence is too lengthy to be inserted here but (1) La Salle had not travelled an hour by canoe when he found the lake frozen; (2) after a league of navigation they found the lake covered with ice; (3) the lake—a league to the east of Crèvecoeur; (4) the maps of Franquelin, 1682 and 1684, place the fort on the eastern bank of the river below the lake. "In regard to the name of the fort the committee reports: Crèvecoeur is a proper name and should be printed as one word. The fort erected on the eastern bank of the Illinois River by La Salle in 1680 was called in consequence of the recent destruction of Fort de Crèvecoeur in the Netherlands by Louis XIV, who captured that stronghold in 1672. There is proof that Henri de Tonti was present at this engagement."

Ontario Under the French Régime.—A forthcoming publication entitled "The Province of Ontario, a History, by J. E. Middleton and F. Landon," contains a chapter on Ontario under the French Régime which has been printed in *Americana* for July 1926. The story of origins, of first explorers and of the famous Jesuit missionaries to that region is retold with the addition of an account of the placing of memorial cairns and tablets on September 15, 1923, by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. One cairn is inscribed as follows: "Site of a palisaded Huron village and Jesuit mission (either St. Louis or St. Ignace II). The destruction of both villages by the Iroquois foe 16th and 17th of March, 1649, sealed the fate of the Huron nation. Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, missionaries, captured at St. Louis were, after frightful tortures, killed at St. Ignace II.—This site donated by Charles E. Newton." The pioneer of pioneers of the Huron country was Etienne Brulé. "For twenty-three years he had roved the forest, being the first white man on the Niagara River, on Lake Ontario, on Lake Huron, at Sault Ste. Marie, and probably on Lake Superior."

Turning from the sickening record of massacres of devoted priests and Huron converts we read with pleasure "Father Patier", who in 1744, had taken charge of the Island mission at Detroit and who lived alone in Sandwich for over thirty years, "had occupied his leisure by writing a Huron grammar and dictionary in a manuscript as small as pica print. He made pasteboard and bound his work most efficiently in deerskin. Three of these volumes are preserved in the Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. They have been printed in facsimile by the Ontario Archives." A copy is in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

Early Catholics In Maryland.—Maryland Historical Magazine for June, 1925, contains two contributions of Catholic interest. "Unpublished Letters," one dated Nov. 7, 1815, of Madame Bonaparte to Mrs. Robert Patterson, sister-in-law of Madame Bonaparte and grand-daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and one to Mrs. Caton, dated Feb. 12, 1816. The second article is a continuation of: "Extracts from Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis," father of the Signer; the extracts have been appearing in recent numbers of the magazine.

Medicine and the California Padres.—The California Historical Society Quarterly for June, 1925, has an extended article of 65 pages entitled "The Scalpel under Three Flags in California," Telling of early physicians and surgeons who fought the diseases of the settlers during the Spanish period 1769-1822, the Mexican period 1822-1848 and the American period after 1848. The ravages of scurvy and dysentery among the first company of emigrants from La Paz to San Diego, under Galvez and Fray Junipero Serra, were such that "had it not been for the presence of Pedro Prat," a Spanish surgeon, "it is probable that the projected province would have miscarried and never withstood the travail of its birth."

Padre Junipero Serra, one of the leaders in the second land expedition, suffering from an ulcerated leg, was cured almost miraculously by being treated by a muleteer who applied to his leg ointment such as he used on his animals where the saddle galled them.

"For seventy-five years and more following the foundation of the Presidio Real," or royal garrisoned place at Monterey, "the three other presidios, the twenty odd other missions, and the numerous pueblos were absolutely without skilled medical attendance and a sick or injured person was dependent upon the missionaries, the 'hechiceros' or Indian medicine men, or the stranger within the gates. . . . The padres possessed considerable medical knowledge and were capable of doing minor surgery and even more complicated operations, and they were really the medical Gibralters in their establishments. Bancroft speaks of one of the fathers, Marcelino Marquinez of Santa Cruz, as being particularly adept in medical matters. Each mission had its hospital, a single ward supplied with mats instead of beds, and each padre had his little medical and surgical kit, one of which is still preserved among the treasures in the Mission of San Juan Bautista." Speaking of Caesarian sections he says: "The missionaries were required to perform that operation on all women dying undelivered during labor."

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL.

The Newberry Library, Chicago.

INSTITUTIONS CONDUCTED BY THE SISTERS OF ST. FRANCIS, SPRING- FIELD, ILLINOIS

ST. JOSEPH'S HOSPITAL, CHIPPEWA FALLS, WIS.

Greetings to Chippewa Falls, the home of our St. Joseph's Hospital. It is a dapper little city in Northern Wisconsin. Her cascading river, her natural Irving Park sceneries, with enclosures for bear, elk, buffalo and deer, create a great attraction for visitors and tourists who during the Summer season swarm hither from all parts of the Union. From Chippewa's great power station is sent the electric current to far-off St. Paul, Minneapolis, and over Iowa. The crystal pure waters of the broadened river near Wissiton and Jim Falls Dam present as fine a body of water as one would ever wish to gaze upon. An object of the town's justifiable pride is the imposing Rutledge building for indigent old people, the State farm, the city's banks and high schools. Chippewa Falls has gradually evolved from an original lumber camp, into its present handsome city-like appearance, pretentious houses with well-kept lawns and shrubbery add materially to the enterprising and progressive town, stately business houses with the best of window displays proclaim her progressiveness whilst perched upon an elevation is located the city's gem, St. Joseph's Hospital. What a boon this institution means for Chippewa is attested to by the corps of eminent physicians and the steady increase of patients, for nowhere are they better taken care of than here by the self-sacrificing Franciscan Sisters whose number in recent years has been multiplied and yet there is still today an insufficiency of nursing Sisters and all-around help. This state of affairs, however, is a general complaint of all our hospitals conducted by our good Religious. Vocations for this altruistic life have become few and far between, hence the lengthening out of service hours of the overworked hospital Sisters wherever we meet them. And yet there is hardly any calling in life superior to that of a hospital Sister to whom the words of Christ are so applicable: "Whatever you have done to the least of my brethren that you have done unto me." Behold the Sister of Mercy in all her God-consecrated calling performing Samaritan service in the name of the Lord. Is it not true that nobody in this world ever loves his neighbor with such intense persistency as do our hospital Sisters?

St. Joseph's Hospital of Chippewa Falls was opened June 20, 1885, with five Sisters of whom Ven. Sister Rose was appointed the Superioress. Rev. Dr. Goldschmitt was the pastor of the German parish, soon after followed by Rev. Herman Hegemann who in years afterwards became a well-known Jesuit missionary. At first the Sisters rented a large frame residence which afterwards they sold for the sum of \$6,000. In less than three years, however, it was found to be inadequate for the many applications of patients, mainly "lumber-jacks" who chiefly came hither from the Northern pineries of the State. In the year 1889 a large hospital, 100 x 45 x 45 ft., was built of brick and stone trimmings for \$25,000. However in less than four years this house likewise became too small to accommodate all the patients who clamored for admission. Early in the Spring, 1893, an addition was built 60 x 45 x 45, the hospital Chapel enlarged and two large wards in the wing added to the rear of the hospital. Good Sister Rose, head and soul of the large institution for so many years, had the satisfaction of seeing the new addition completed. After a long and painful sickness at the St. John's Hospital she passed away August 18, 1923. Ven. Sister Marciana became her successor.

At the time of Sister Marciana's departure in 1905 there were twenty-three sisters employed in the hospital and Sister Cassiana was appointed Superioress to be succeeded by Sister Cunigundis. In 1903 an electrical elevator was installed. In 1905 a new building was erected to serve as laundry, the furnishing of which was done by the American Machinery Company of Chicago. In December, 1911, the basement of the hospital was largely improved and rearranged, the old furnace rooms being remodeled for store rooms, bakery, etc. A new bake oven and dough mixer were also installed. On May 10, 1910, the new power house was begun and completed on September 18 of the same year. The heating plan was installed by the Kaufmann Heating and Engineering Company of St. Louis, Mo. In 1912 a Victor X-Ray machine was added to the institution, Dr. Wilkowske having charge of the work. Since 1915 the hospital has had its own registered pharmacist, who was educated and graduated at the Mother-house of Springfield, Illinois. Ven. Sister Josepha became the next Superioress. She at once planned the erection of a building to serve as a dormitory for the domestic help of St. Joseph's Hospital in order to provide ampler accommodations for the patients. The plans for it were drafted by Fuller & Schroeber, architects of Green Bay, Wis. The building was at once begun in the rear of the hospital. It is a two-story brick building with basement which serves at the same time as a recreation room for the girls. It is named St. Clara's Home. In

January, 1918, a Sister was sent from the Motherhouse to take charge of the radiographist's work. A laboratory was then installed in the basement of the last new addition (which is absolutely fireproof) of which she took charge as also of the various light and x-ray treatments. In 1919 a new large x-ray machine was purchased from the McIntosh Company. In December, 1920, the new entrance was opened and the old entrance remodeled into patients' rooms. On August 7, 1921, the record office was opened, and on May 1 the new elevator in the new addition installed by the Otis Elevator Company. Eighteen hundred pounds can directly be taken from ambulance into elevator. The old elevator was removed.

St. Joseph's Hospital can accommodate 175 patients, the number of Sisters connected with St. Joseph's at the present time being 36, with Ven. Sister Nazaria as its efficient Superioress. They are: Sister Nazaria, directress; Sister Clementine, bookkeeper; Sister Elizabeth, dining room; Sister Cherubine, Chapel and Girl's Home; Sister Gilberta, cook; Sister Eulalia, night nurse and anaesthetist; Sister Regidia, dressing room, first floor; Sister Felicitas, nurse, third floor; Sister Coletta, operating room; Sister Osmania, sewing room; Sister Isabella, nurse, first floor; Sister Carola, head Sister, third floor; Sister Emerentia, anaesthetist, operating room; Sister Gabriela, nurse, third floor; Sister Emilia, head Sister, first floor; Sister Patrocla, head Sister, second floor; Sister Hilaria, electro-therapeutist; Sister Ludgera, nurse, first floor; Sister Lucilla, laundry; Sister Ligoria, registered pharmacist; Sister Hermina, registered radiologist; Sister Alberta, nurse; Sister Claudina, record room; Sister Gonzaga, dining room; Sister Boromaea, nurse; Sister Euphrosina, chief cook; Sister Doliris, nurse; Sister Clementia, dressing room; Sister Joannette, registered dietitian; Sister Regina, sterile surgical nurse; Sister Immelda, serving kitchen; Sister Sabina, nurse, second floor; Sister Evarista, dressing room, second floor; Sister Ferdinanda, nurse, second floor; Sister Henrietta, assistant cook; Sister Celeste, assistant laboratory and radiology technician; Sister Tobia, nurse.

The consecutive Sisters who acted as Superioresses since the day of opening of St. Joseph's Hospital were: Ven. Sr. Rose, 1885-1893; Ven. Sr. Marciana, 1893-1895; Ven. Sr. Cunigundis, 1895-1915; Ven. Sr. Josepha, 1915-1920; Ven. Sr. Pulcheria, 1920-1923; Ven. Sr. Solana, 1923-1924; Ven. Sr. Nazaria, since April, 1924.

During the year 1924 St. Joseph's Hospital admitted 3,460 patients and 175 babies were born in the O. B. Department.

For several years the spiritual care of Sisters and patients was placed in the hands of secular priests, but since 1899 they were superceded by resident Chaplains, Rev. Fr. Jos. Wiedemann, succeeded by Rev. John Ellmauer. The **Thirteen Hours' Devotion** at the hospital was established by Bishop Schwebach, August 29, 1903, to be held annually on the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

SACRED HEART HOSPITAL OF EAU CLAIRE, WIS.

On October 7, 1889, three veteran Sisters, Eacunda, Melana and Ositha were sent forth from the Motherhouse at Springfield to Eau Claire, Wisconsin, with the view of gathering funds wherewith to construct in that progressive city a much needed hospital, for calls for just that purpose had been many. The Superiors weighing the pros and cons finally concluded to give the enterprise at least a fair trial, hence the arrival of these Sisters at Eau Claire. Rev. Joseph Boehm, pastor of the Sacred Heart parish, bade them a sincere welcome—now he foresaw his fondest dreams take on real form. For its realization the good priest had labored a great deal preparing the soil for the construction of a hospital building. Without difficulty Father Boehm won over for the project his loyal and interested parishioners, who each in turn became an ardent supporter of the hospital idea. The first home that opened its doors to our three strangers from Springfield was that of big-hearted Mrs. J. Fitzpatrick. She lived in an L-shaped cottage on North Dewy Street. It contained three small rooms and a pantry on the ground floor and two rooms upstairs. The upper story then was given over to the use of the Sisters. Here they lived throughout the fall and winter until the contemplated building had been finished the subsequent summer; from here our small avant-gard emerged every morning in quest of contributions in furtherance of the undertaking. They gratefully accepted whatever seemed of practical value for their new home. Not only money, but also feathers and down and sea moss which on the long winter nights their nimble fingers would turn into pillows and mattresses, all to be used for the comfort of the patients in the coming infant hospital. These supplies had to be stored in the two rooms which they occupied and when there was no further storage room upstairs, magnanimous Mrs. Fitzpatrick allowed the use of her own rooms and woodshed; she also permitted them to use her sewing machine, in fine the considerate lady did all she could to alleviate the care and burden of these strangers who were within the gates of

the city. In the spring of 1890 our pioneers were joined by three more Sisters, making a community of six Sisters to begin work in the hospital on the opening day. Early in the spring of 1890 a suitable tract of land had been found and bought; it faced North Dewey Street, lying between St. Louis and St. John Streets, having been the property of Mrs. Putrian. The new hospital building when completed was a three-story structure with basement and attic, 85 x 45 x 54. On either side of the entrance on each floor were three private rooms facing east and in the rear of each floor was a serving kitchen and two large wards. The new hospital had accommodations for fifty patients.

A small room north of the entrance served as an operating room. This room is now used as the doctors' consultation room. A fair-sized apartment on the second floor, now a linen closet, was used as temporary chapel. From the very day of opening the Sisters and Catholic patients enjoyed the unspeakable happiness of having Our Lord in their midst the humble tabernacle sheltering the Friend Of The Poor, sick and dying uninterruptedly. From His humble altar throne the Heavenly Shepherd daily blessed the little band of God-consecrated virgins. He strengthened and comforted many a timid soul in the hours of weary trial and lonely night watches and wonderfully infused into the hearts and minds of dozens of wavering girls the spirit of religious life.

Drs. Lyman, Thrane, and Hayes were the first physicians and surgeons to practice at Sacred Heart. Of these three only Dr. Lyman survives and is still in active service and continues to be friend and benefactor of the hospital.

When the hospital was completed in 1890 it accommodated fifty patients. In the space of nine years an addition became necessary; this enlarged the hospital capacity to seventy-five beds. This again soon proved too small. In 1906 a south wing was added, which increased the capacity for patients to 120. During 1912-1913 the third addition, or the new west wing, was under way of construction. The third floor of this wing is used for operating room equipment. The latest types of special apparatus for the administration of ether and nitrous-oxide anesthesia are provided for the safety and comfort of the patient. The first and second floors are completed at the west end with large sun parlors, where convalescing patients find enjoyment when the inclemency of the weather will not permit them to be out on the spacious lawn in front of the hospital. By the addition of this wing, the hospital capacity was increased to 160.

In the early part of 1917 the obstetrical department was opened in the old west and north wings of the third floor. A little later the children's department was established; this, like the obstetrical department, is steadily growing.

A service building, comprising laundry and power-house, located about fifty feet back of the hospital, and connected with it by means of an underground passageway, was built in 1918.

Recently the clinical laboratory has been completely reorganized. In June, 1919, it was moved from the third floor to its present larger quarters. It has been completely outfitted with material apparatus, making it possible to perform all tests that come within the scope of the most modern laboratory.

A training school for nurses was opened in August, 1917. The south wing of the fourth floor was remodeled and used as sleeping quarters for the nurses. The first floor of the cloister was given over by the Sisters to be used as class and demonstration rooms and reception room for the student nurses, until such time as a nurses' home could become a possibility. On July 2, 1919, ground was broken for the St. Francis Home. In spite of the fact that during the war it was extremely difficult to obtain building material and many delays were experienced the Home had sufficiently neared completion by Christmas that the nurses could spend their last Christmas in training in the large recreation room of the new Home. Although the outside work of the building progressed quite rapidly the interior work went on very slowly, partly on account of the cold weather which had set in very early that year and partly on account of the many delays in obtaining the required materials. The last bit of work had scarcely been finished in February when the "flu" epidemic broke out and rushed patient after patient to the hospital until the institution was so crowded that it was almost next to impossible to observe the necessary precautions to avoid cross infection. In order to safeguard other medical cases and surgical cases it was deemed a necessity and a duty to isolate these influenza cases and it was decided to use the fourth floor for this purpose. A notice was given the student nurses to take their belongings and bedding to the Home and in less than an hour the hitherto nurses' apartment had been changed into an isolation hospital and the heretofore unoccupied, unfurnished Home became a real home.

For a number of years the Sisters had longed and yearned for a Chapel large enough to accommodate all the Sisters, nurses and patients without obliging anyone to stand in the halls to hear Mass

and attend other Divine Services. This dream took the form of a reality when in August, 1922, excavating for the Chapel began. The Chapel was completed in the following spring and Holy Mass said therein for the first time on Easter Saturday, April 19.

At the present time an addition with accommodations for thirty is being added to the Home.

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Pathological work is also carried on in this department. All tissues coming from the operating room are sectioned, and a complete gross and microscopical report given by the pathologist, same report being filed with the respective patient's chart.

One day of each week is set aside for the performing of the Wasserman test, not only for patients in the hospital but also for patients of the physicians of this city and surrounding towns.

The laboratory is prepared to make autogenous vaccines, renal function tests, blood transfusions and pneumococcus grouping, examinations of sputum, smears and cultures, gastric analysis, animal inoculations and the latest test in blood and urine chemistry.

A small library in connection with the laboratory consists of the latest books on pathology.

The nurses' home is located within the hospital park and overlooks a beautiful river scenery on the north and west sides. The large and shady grounds, surrounding the home, with their lawn swings, tennis court and other out-of-door amusements, affords wholesome recreation during the pupil's free hours. The home has recently been erected and affords the pupil all the comforts and conveniences of a modern home. The rooms are private and semi-private. On the ground floor are the large and beautifully furnished recreation rooms, libraries, kitchenette, etc.

SACRED HEART HOSPITAL TRAINING SCHOOL

From the establishment to the present date, the Sacred Heart Hospital has increased and improved rapidly in size, equipment and

After the epidemic ceased and the Sisters had more leisure time the Nurses' Home was put into order.

The Nurses' Home is located within the hospital park and overlooks the beautiful river scenery on the north and west sides. The large and shady recreation grounds, surrounding the home with their lawn swings, tennis courts and other out-of-door amusements, affords wholesome recreation during the pupils' free hours. The home affords all the comforts and conveniences of a modern home. The rooms are private and semi-private. On the ground floor are large and beautifully furnished recreation rooms, libraries, kitchenettes, etc. The furnishings are largely donations of kind and benevolent benefactors.

On the date of August 26, 1920, the first class, a class of seven, graduated. The commencement exercises were held in one of the large recreation rooms, where a very interesting program was given, the principal speakers being Reverend Father A. B. C. Dunne and Dr. J. V. R. Lyman.

OUR WONDERFUL LITTLE CHAPEL (EAU CLAIRE)

Ground was broken for the new Chapel on August 17, 1921, and the building completed in April of the following year. The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered in it for the first time on Easter Saturday, dedicated October 24, 1922.

There is probably not another Chapel in the country planned as wonderfully as is this one. Exteriorly it is somewhat triangular in shape while interiorly it presents two complete but separate Chapels with but one altar which is plainly visible from the most remote part of either chapel. Walls running parallel with the outer walls meet a point about fifteen feet from the altar and form an acute angle. These walls form the partition between the Sisters' Chapel and the main Chapel. The space enclosed by these walls is used as small supply rooms for chapel articles, the sairs leading from first to second floor and the motor for the pipe organ. The floors of both chapels and the sanctuary are terrazzo.

The windows are a modification of the Roman and Gothic styles. The stained glass windows which will all be imported have not yet arrived. Paintings representing the Nativity and the Ascension will

numerous other things, among them nursing methods. Most of the Sisters being registered nurses the management felt that a training school for nurses could successfully be handled in connection with the hospital.

During the summer of 1917 the Training School was established. The class admitted was nine in number. Sister Anastasia, now superintendent of St. John's Sanatorium, Springfield, Ill., was the first instructress and Sister Jovita, deceased, was superintendent of nurses. Late in October Sister Agnella, the present superintendent, came and took over the work started by Sister Anastasia.

The nurses' departments consisted of two large sleeping apartments on the third floor, a class and demonstration room, a reception and recreation room on the first floor in the wing known as St. Joseph's Hall. The apartments were economically but neatly furnished.

Thanksgiving day of that year was in truth a day of thanksgiving for it marked a completion of the three months, commonly probation period, of the first class, for on this day they were endowed in full uniform. A sumptuous dinner was enjoyed by the class. In the evening a program was given by the young nurses for the Sisters. After the program refreshments were served in the dining room which was beautifully decorated for the occasion.

In May the number of nurses was increased by two. At the close of their probation period one remained, the school numbering ten at the close of the first year. Then came the time for the annual vacation which consisted of two weeks with extra time for travel.

Close to this came the annual retreat. After three days of prayer and meditation and conferences given by Reverend Father Riegelsperger of Sparta, Wis., and a day of recreation all returned to regular duty with new interest for the coming year.

During the years 1918 and 1919 the school grew slowly, on account of the troubled war times. From 1920 the school began to increase more rapidly, at present enrolling thirty-one pupil nurses, and has sent out ten graduates, all of whom are holding responsible positions in various hospitals of Wisconsin, Illinois and Michigan.

On July 2, 1919, ground was broken for the new nurses' home called St. Francis Home. It was scarcely completed in February, 1920, when "flu" patients were rushed to the hospital in such numbers that within two hours the nurses' departments on the fourth floor were completely vacated in order that poor patients might be accommodated and yet no other patients in the hospital for surgical or medical care might be exposed to this dreadful epidemic.

occupy the two sanctuary windows. St. Margaret Mary Alacoque will be represented in two of the windows of the Sisters' Chapel, while the third window, which is cut by the gallery floor, will be of rich tapestry; the same holds true of the window cut by the gallery floor in the main Chapel. Above in the balcony and behind the organ will be tapestry windows with medallions of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Clara and St. Anthony of Padua, while beneath the balcony the subject is comforting Christ. Paintings representing the Agony in the Garden and Christ in the House of Martha will occupy the windows in the public Chapel. As the front wall of this Chapel is not an outside wall, but merely a partition between the Chapel and the hall leading to the hospital, it contains no windows. The doors are of frosted glass.

The walls are finished in plain colors. About four feet from the floor is a decorative moulding; below this the walls are of a buff while above they are cream color. The pure white arches in the ceiling contrast beautifully with cream colored walls. The front of the balconies are also of pure white plaster of Paris ornamented with reliefs of an eagle, the ox, the lion and an angelic youth. These figures symbolize the four evangelists. St. John is symbolized by an eagle on account of his intense love of God, St. Mathew is symbolized by an angelic youth, St. Luke by an ox and St. Mark by a lion. The names of the evangelists are written across their respective symbols in letters of gold. The entire group of panels is bordered with clusters of grapes.

The fourteen stations of the Way of the Cross stands forth conspicuously on the light tinted walls. So well are the sufferings of Jesus and Mary pictured in these engravings that the thought that it was all for the redemption of our souls comes foremost in the mind. And again, "If He suffered so much for love us, what shall we not be willing to suffer for Him?"

Mother with the corpse of her Divine Son in her lap. Holy Mass is sometimes celebrated on this little altar. Near the door is a large standing angel holding a shell containing holy water. Sentiments of love, piety and reverence are expressed on the face of this angel and surely the soul that gazes upon it as it enters the chapel cannot but be filled with like sentiments.

The statues, the stained glass windows and the grand pipe organ are donations of kind and generous benefactors as tokens of gratitude for graces and favors received from the Divine Physician as well as marks of their kindly feelings toward the Sisters. And the Sisters in gratitude toward their benevolent benefactors will surely ask their

Eucharistic King to bless those who have contributed so generously toward making His House a fit dwelling place for the Most High.

OF THE ARTISTIC WAY OF THE CROSS

Each Station affords an endless meditation on the infinite love of the God-man for our souls. After a few minutes of earnest contemplation, the strength to continue the Way of the Cross, which after all is the Royal road and the only way to Heaven, and leaves the Chapel with a heart full of Grace and Gratitude to so good a God. The soul now animated with new zeal and courage is determined to embrace every sacrifice, bearing in mind that the path of duty and sacrifice leads to happiness and heavenly peace.

The sanctuary is an obtuse angular apartment, separated from the rest of the Chapel by a neat golden oak Communion railing. The high altar which stands in the apex of this triangle is also of golden oak and finished with gold gilt to harmonize with the Communion railing and the other woodwork of the chapel. High above the tabernacle is a beautiful statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus with His right hand pointing to His Sacred Heart and the other hand extended toward the worshippers seemingly says, "Behold this Heart which has loved men so much, even to the consummation of Itself." On either side of the altar are delicately tinted angels holding candelabras of seven frosted electric lights which cast their radiant light upon the altar during Benediction and whenever the Blessed Sacrament is exposed. In front of the altar table is a large relief of the Last Supper.

The statues throughout the entire chapel are of very delicate colors and harmonize beautifully with the light tinted walls. In the Sisters' Chapel near the Communion railing is the Blessed Mother holding in her arms the Infant Jesus with His arms extended in the form of the cross, while on the right side is a statue of St. Joseph. Further back and higher up on the walls on either side is one of St. Francis of Assisi and of St. Anthony with the Child Jesus in one arm, Who is caressing the saint while in his other hand he holds a lily. A most pathetic statue of the Man of Sorrows or as it is commonly called, the "Ecce Homo," stands in a niche beneath the balcony. The statues in the public Chapel are somewhat larger than those in the Sisters' Chapel, but equally as beautiful. Near the front are statues of the Sacred Heart of Mary and St. Joseph with the Divine Babe. In the back and to the right is seen a statue of St. Gertrude the Great, while on the opposite side is a small altar surmounted by a touching figure of the Sorrowful Mother.

CHAPLAINS

From the time of the foundation of the hospital until 1901 the Sisters had no resident chaplain but were administered to spiritually by the priests of Sacred Heart Church, occasionally also by good Father A. B. C. Dunne, pastor of St. Patrick's. Rev. Father Martin Conley came as first resident chaplain in 1901 and continued in that capacity until 1918 when his health became so poor he could no longer perform his priestly functions. Father John Thill succeeded him, 1918-1920.

Father Louis Kaluza was appointed in his place. Though more than 75 years of age, the beloved chaplain is as spry as a cricket and walks as straight as a man of 40. Father Kaluza is a great lover of out-door life, birds and flowers constitute his daily entertainment.

A notable benefactor of the hospital has been Mr. Gideon Phoenix, though there always have been a number of generous friends of the Sisters.

The consecutive Superioresses of the Sacred Heart Hospital have been: Ven. Sister Zosima, first Superioress. She came here before the hospital was completed and held office till 1910, when she was relieved from duty by the veteran Sister Clementine, 1910-1912. After her came Sister Pulcheria, 1912-1920. Sister Josepha is the present manager, kind and dear to all. The Eau Claire Hospital displays a wonderful activity for in 1923 there were not less than 3420 patients treated in this institution.

Springfield, Ill.

REV. A. ZURBONSEN.

ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME IX

APRIL, 1927

NUMBER 4

Illinois Catholic Historical Society

28 NORTH FRANKLIN STREET, CHICAGO

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Illinois Catholic Historical Review

Journal of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society

28 NORTH FRANKLIN STREET, CHICAGO

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PUBLISHED BY
THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHICAGO, ILL.

CONTENTS

ILLINOIS—THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY (Continued)	
	<i>Joseph J. Thompson, LL. D.</i> 291
THE EMERGENCE OF THE MISSOURI VALLEY INTO HISTORY	
	<i>Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.</i> 306
RIGHTING HISTORY. THE FITZGERALD-LEE INSTANCE	
	<i>John K. Laurence</i> 323
HOMESEEEKERS IN THE WILDERNESS	
	<i>Rev. Paul J. Foik, C. S. C., Ph. D.</i> 327
THE FIRST SETTLEMENT ON THE SITE OF ST. LOUIS	
	<i>Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.</i> 342
MARQUETTE'S BURIAL SITE LOCATED	
	<i>Rev. Patrick Lomasney, S. J.</i> 348
CARDINAL MUNDELEIN'S ESTIMATE OF THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW - - - - -	362
BISHOP ENGLAND'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH BISHOP ROSATI (Continued)	
	<i>Rev. John Rothensteiner</i> 363
THE PRIEST'S HOUSE—A RELIC OF EARLY CATHOLICITY IN KENTUCKY	
	<i>Rev. Henry S. Spalding, S. J.</i> 372
INFLUENCE OF THE IRISH PEOPLE IN THE FORMATION OF THE UNITED STATES	<i>Frank Sheridan</i> 377
HISTORY IN THE PRESS	
	<i>Teresa L. Maher</i> 382

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY PRESS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Illinois

Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME IX

APRIL, 1927

NUMBER 4

ILLINOIS: THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION IN MID-AMERICA

(Continued from January Number)

CHAPTER II THE CHURCH ESTABLISHED

In an account of the missions written by Father Claude Dablon, S. J., within a few years after Marquette's voyages, and certainly before 1680, we read:

Father Jacques Marquette, having promised the Illinois on his voyage to them in 1673 that he would return to them the following year, to teach them the mysteries of our religion, had much difficulty in keeping his word. The great hardships of his first voyage had brought upon him a sickness, and had so weakened him that he was giving up the hope of undertaking a second. However, his sickness decreased; and, as it had almost entirely abated by the close of the summer in the following year, he obtained the permission of his superiors to return to the Illinois and there begin that fair mission."¹

This journey was begun on the 25th of October, 1674. Father Marquette was accompanied this time only by two Frenchmen, one named Pierre Porteret and the other named Jacques Le Carter. The journey is described in more or less detail in a journal which Father Marquette kept, and is amplified and completed in a letter of Father Dablon to his superior.

MARQUETTE'S SECOND VOYAGE

By means of these documents we learn that on December 4, 1674, the little party reached the mouth of the Chicago River which Father Marquette called the River of the Portage.

¹ Thwaites *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, p. 185.

“Having encamped near the portage two leagues up the river,” says Father Marquette, “we resolved to winter there, as it was impossible to go farther since we were too much hindered and my ailment did not permit me to give myself too much fatigue.”²

Father Dablon tells us that Father Marquette and his associates “constructed a cabin in which to pass the winter.”³

It was a hard winter and Father Marquette and his companions needed very much the help that the friendly Indians gave them, and were especially gratified to learn of the presence in the near neighborhood of a surgeon and companion Frenchman named la Toupine. The Indians it appears notified these lonely Frenchmen dwelling amongst the savages of that day of Father Marquette’s whereabouts and condition, and

As soon as the two Frenchmen learned that my illness prevented me from going to them, the surgeon came here with a savage to bring us some blueberries and corn. They are only 18 leagues from here in a fine place for hunting cattle, deer, and turkeys, which are excellent there. They had also collected provisions while waiting for us; and had given the savages to understand that their cabin belonged to the black gown; and it may be said that they have done and said all that could be expected from them. After the surgeon had spent some time here, in order to perform his devotions, I sent Jacque with him to tell the Illinois near that place that my illness prevented me from getting to see them; and that I would even have some difficulty in going there in the spring if it continued.

Jacque returned with a sack of corn and other delicacies, which the French had given him for me. He also brought the tongues and flesh of two cattle which a savage and he had killed near there. But all the animals feel the bad weather.⁴

FIRST RESIDENT OF CHICAGO

Suffering from the inclemency of the weather, extreme inconveniences and a new development of his old malady, Father Marquette and his two companions lived through the winter within what is now the boundaries of Chicago and thus became the first inhabitants of this now wonderful American metropolis.

During his stay in Chicago in the winter of 1674 and 1675, Father Marquette said Mass daily when his health would permit, on an altar raised by him in the cabin where he and his companions dwelt. He was unable to say the Mass of the Conception on the 8th of December, but writes in his journal of the 15th, that being rid of the Illinois Indians “we said the Mass of the Conception.”⁵

² *Ibid.*, p. 173.

³ *Ibid.* p. 187.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 175-177.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 175.

MARQUETTE'S LIFE IN CHICAGO

The routine of Marquette's daily life in what is now Chicago, enacted two and a half centuries ago makes an interesting recital. He had begun his journey on October 25, 1674, and commenced a journal of his travels on the 26th.

In this journal he made entries, not every day, but from time to time, from which we learn that he and his companions, accompanied by some savages, had reached the neighborhood of the mouth of the Chicago River (referred to by Marquette as the river of the portage) by the end of November. Beginning with December 1st, the journal reads:

1. We went ahead of the savages, so that I might celebrate holy Mass.

3. After saying holy Mass, we embarked, and were compelled to make for a point, so that we could land, on account of floating masses of ice.

4. We started with a favoring wind, and reached the river of the portage, which was frozen to the depth of half a foot; there was more snow there than elsewhere, as well as more tracks of animals and turkeys.

Navigation on the lake is fairly good from one portage to the other, for there is no crossing to be made, and one can land anywhere, unless one persist in going on when the waves are high and the wind is strong. The land bordering it is of no value, except on the prairies. There are eight or ten quite fine rivers. Deer-hunting is very good, as one goes away from the Poutewatamis.

12. As we began yesterday to haul our baggage in order to approach the portage, the Illinois who had left the Poutewatamis arrived, with great difficulty. We were unable to celebrate holy Mass on the day of the Conception, owing to the bad weather and cold. During our stay at the entrance of the river, Pierre and Jacques killed three cattle and four deer, one of which ran some distance with its heart split in two. We contented ourselves with killing three or four turkeys, out of many that came around our cabin because they were almost dying of hunger. Jacques brought in a partridge that he had killed, exactly like those of France except that it had two ruffs, as it were, of three or four feathers as long as a finger, near the head covering the two sides of the neck where there are no feathers.

14. Having encamped near the portage, two leagues up the river, we resolved to winter there, as it was impossible to go farther, since we were too much hindered and my ailment did not permit me to give myself much fatigue. Several Illinois passed yesterday, on their way to carry their furs to Nawaskingwe; we gave them one of the cattle and one of the deer that Jacques had killed on the previous day. I do not think that I have ever seen any savages more eager for French tobacco than they. They came and threw beaver skins at our feet, to get some pieces of it, but we returned these, giving them some pipefuls of the tobacco because we had not yet decided whether we would go farther.

15. Chachagwessiou and the other Illinois left us, to go and join their people and give them the goods that they had brought, in order to obtain their robes. In this they act like the traders, and give hardly any more than do the French. I instructed them before their departure, deferring the holding of a council until the spring, when I should be in their village. They traded us three fine robes

of ox-skins for a cubit of tobacco; these were very useful to us during the winter. Being thus rid of them, we said the Mass of the Conception. After the 14th, my disease turned into a bloody flux.

30. Jacque arrived from the Illinois village, which is only six leagues from here; there they were suffering from hunger, because the cold and snow prevented them from hunting. Some of them notified La Toupine and the surgeon that we were here; and, as they could not leave their cabin, they had so frightened the savages, believing that we should suffer from hunger if we remained here, that Jacque had much difficulty in preventing fifteen young men from coming to carry away all our belongings.

January 16, 1675. As soon as the two Frenchmen learned that my illness prevented me from going to them, the surgeon came here with a savage, to bring us some blueberries and corn. They are only eighteen leagues from here, in a fine place for hunting cattle, deer and turkeys, which are excellent there. They had also collected provisions while waiting for us; and had given the savages to understand that their cabin belonged to the black gown; and it may be said that they have done and said all that could be expected of them. After the surgeon had spent some time here, in order to perform his devotions, I sent Jacque with him to tell the Illinois near that place that my illness prevented me from going to see them; and that I would even have some difficulty in going there in the spring, if it continued.

24. Jacque returned with a sack of corn and other delicacies, which the French had given him for me. He also brought the tongues and flesh of two cattle, which a savage and he had killed near there. But all the animals feel the bad weather.

26. Three Illinois brought us, on behalf of the elders, two sacks of corn, some dried meat, pumpkins, and twelve beaver-skins: first, to make me a mat; second, to ask me for powder; third, that we might not be hungry; fourth, to obtain a few goods. I replied: first, that I had come to instruct them, by speaking to them of prayer, etc.; second, that I would give them no powder, because we sought to restore peace everywhere, and I did not wish them to begin war with the Muiamis [Miami]; third, that we feared not hunger; fourth, that I would encourage the French to bring them goods, and that they must give satisfaction to those who were among them for the beads which they had taken as soon as the surgeon started to come here. As they had come a distance of twenty leagues, I gave them, in order to reward them for their trouble and for what they had brought me, a hatchet, two knives, three clasp-knives, ten brasses of glass beads, and two double-mirrors, telling them that I would endeavor to go to the village, for a few days only, if my illness continued. They told me to take courage, and to remain and die in their country; and that they had been informed that I would remain there for a long time.

THE FIRST NOVENA

For relief from his sickness Father Marquette "commenced a novena with Mass,—at which Pierre and Jacque, who do everything they can to relieve me, received communion,—to ask God to restore my health."⁶ This novena, begun apparently on February 1st, and

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 179.

ending on February 9th, was no doubt the first ever made in Illinois. Struggling through the winter, patiently waiting the opportunity and praying for strength to proceed to the site of his mission, Marquette tells us that:

On the 28th of March the ice broke up and stopped above us. On the 29th the waters rose so high that we had barely time to decamp as fast as possible, putting our goods in the trees and trying to sleep on a hillock. The water gained on us nearly all night, but there was a slight freeze and the water fell a little while we were near our packages. The barrier has just broken, the ice has drifted away; and, because the water is already rising, we are about to embark to continue our journey.⁷

The spirit that could look upon this direful winter with, not to say complaisance but with thankfulness, must be a lofty one indeed. The holy missionary tells us:

The blessed Virgin Immaculate has taken such care of us during our wintering that we have not lacked provisions, and have still remaining a large sack of corn, with some meat and fat. We also lived very pleasantly for my illness did not prevent me from saying Holy Mass every day. We were unable to keep Lent except on Fridays and Saturdays.⁸

On the 30th of March the little company left the cabin for the difficult passage to the village of the Illinois. "The very highlands alone are not flooded," says Father Marquette, and whereas, when he and Joliet passed up the river eighteen months before they were obliged to carry their canoes and supplies for a considerable distance, now the whole region is covered with water, and Father Marquette speaks of two lakes which are "full of bustards, geese, ducks, cranes and other games unknown to us."⁹ The ice was drifting down the river and the strong winds and cold weather greatly interfered with their progress. They are still some distance from the Indian village on the 6th of April where they meet the surgeon and a savage accompanying him with a canoe load of furs, and here Father Marquette's journal ends.

We are not left in doubt, however, as to subsequent developments, for Father Claude Dablon, who undoubtedly had complete verbal reports of all his movements, says that he (Marquette) set out for the village on the 29th of March and "spent eleven days on the way, during which time he had occasion to suffer much, both from his own

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 181.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 181.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 183.

illness from which he had not entirely recovered, and from the very severe and unfavorable weather.”

THE CHURCH ESTABLISHING, HOLY THURSDAY, APRIL 11, 1675

The story of Marquette's arrival at the Indian village and the formal establishment of the Catholic Church in the territory now known as the State of Illinois is best told in the contemporaneous account of Father Dablon who had it first had from eye witnesses of the facts. It is as follows:

On at last arriving at the village, he [Marquette] was received as an angel from Heaven. After he had assembled at various times the Chiefs of the nation, with all the old men, that he might sow in their minds the first seeds of the gospel, and after having given instructions in the cabins, which were always filled with a great crowd of people, he resolved to address all in public, in a general assembly which he called together in the open air, the cabins being too small to contain all the people. It was a beautiful prairie, close to a village, which was selected for the great council [on the prairie near the site of the present city of Utica, La Salle County, Illinois]; this was adorned after the fashion of the country by covering it with mats and bearskins. Then the father, having directed them to stretch out upon lines several pieces of Chinese taffeta, attached to these four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin which were visible on all sides. The audience was composed of 500 chiefs and elders, seated in a circle around the father, and of all the young men, who remained standing. They numbered more than 1,500 men, without counting the women and children, who are always numerous,—the village being composed of five or six hundred fires. The father addressed the whole body of people, and conveyed to them ten messages by means of ten presents which he gave them. He explained to them the principal mysteries of our religion, and the purpose that had brought him to their country. Above all, he preached to them Jesus Christ, on the very eve of that great day on which He had died upon the Cross for them, as well as for all the rest of mankind; then he said holy Mass.

DEDICATES THE MISSION OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

On the third day after, which was Easter Sunday, things being prepared in the same manner as on Thursday, he celebrated the Holy Mysteries for the second time; and by these two, the only sacrifices ever offered there to God, he took possession of that land in the name of Jesus Christ, and gave to that mission the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

He was listened to by all those peoples with universal joy, and they prayed him with most earnest entreaty to come back to them as soon as possible, since his sickness obliged him to return. The father, on his side, expressed to them the affection which he felt for them, and the satisfaction that they had given him, and pledged them his word that he, or some other of our fathers would return to carry on that mission so happily inaugurated. This promise he repeated several times, while parting with them to go upon his way, and he set off with

so many tokens of regard on the part of those good peoples that, as a mark of honor they chose to escort him for more than 30 leagues on the road, vying with each other in taking charge of his slender baggage.¹⁰

Thus was Christianity introduced in the interior of America and thus the Catholic Church established, which, in unbroken continuity, has flourished, and like the mustard seed of the Scriptures, grown and expanded from that to the present day.

The plain upon which Father Marquette reared his sylvan altar, and where was gathered around him these red children of the forest while he inaugurated the Church, lies on the banks of the Illinois River not far distant from the present site of the city of Utica, and the very spot has been quite accurately located by Parkman and other historians, but to the present time remains unmarked. It is not far distant from the majestic hill that has become known as Starved Rock, which is associated with the very earliest memories of the Illinois country.

The sacred spot upon which Father Marquette stood when founding the mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the name which he gave this first foundation in the interior of what is now the United States, is one of the most hallowed in all America, and it is not unreasonable to hope that a people grateful for the blessings which this saintly pioneer invoked, and justly proud of his character and his works, will erect a shrine or some other suitable monument that will become an object of pious pilgrimage and a situs of prayer and thanksgiving.

DEATH OF FATHER MARQUETTE

Although Father Marquette's direct connection with what is now the State of Illinois ended on that Easter Sunday evening, April 14, 1675, when he departed from his newly established mission, this story would be very incomplete did it not tell something of the few months following in which the gentle missionary attempted a return to his associates at Michilimackinac, and during which he yielded up his spirit to its Maker. These incidents, too, have been related in detail by Father Claude Dablon, the Superior of the Missions. We are told by Father Dablon that after preaching to his Indian auditors a last farewell, they had prayed him most earnestly to come back to them as soon as possible. On his side, Father Marquette "pledged them his word that he or some other of our fathers would return to carry on that mission so happily inaugurated. This promise he repeated

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 189-191.

several times while parting with them to go on his way, and he set out with so many tokens of regard on the part of those good people, that as a mark of honor they chose to escort him for more than thirty leagues on the road, vieing with each other in taking care of his slender baggage." Father Dablon advises us that after reaching the lake, he and his two companions coasted along the southern shore, and as they proceeded he became so feeble and exhausted that he was unable to assist himself and had to be handled and carried about like a child. This condition continued for several days. "The evening before his death, which was a Friday, he told them very joyously that it would take place on the morrow," and conversed with them, giving them explicit directions as to his burial. They brought him to the land, lighted a little fire and prepared for him a wretched cabin of bark, and laid him down there in the least uncomfortable way they could. Thus stretched upon the ground, he prepared himself for death and gave his companions his final instructions. When his hour was come, his companions drew near him and he embraced them once again while they burst into tears at his feet, and "with a countenance beaming and all aglow, he expired without a struggle, and so gently that it might have been regarded as a pleasant sleep" [May 19, 1675]. His two companions disposed his body in the manner which he had directed and buried it as he had bidden and planted a large cross near his grave as a sign to passers by.

A STRIKING FUNERAL PROCESSION

If Father Marquette's death was lonely in the midst of the forest, he nevertheless had a notable funeral procession. Father Dablon tells us:

God did not permit that a deposit so precious should remain in the midst of the forest unhonored and forgotten. The Savages named Kiskakons, who have been making public profession of Christianity for nearly ten years, and who were instructed by Father Marquette when he lived at the point of St. Esprit, at the extremity of Lake Superior, carried on their last winter's hunting in the vicinity of the lake of the Illinois. As they were returning in the spring, they were greatly pleased to pass near the grave of their good father, whom they tenderly loved; and God also put into their hearts to remove his bones and bring them to our Church at the Mission of St. Ignace at Missilimackinac, where those Savages made their abode.

They repaired then to the spot, and resolved among themselves to act in regard to the father as they are wont to do toward those for whom they profess great respect. Accordingly, they opened the grave, and uncovered the body; and, although the flesh and internal organs were all dried up, they found it entire, so that not even the skin was in any way injured. This did not prevent them from proceeding to dissect it as is their custom. They cleansed the bones and

exposed them to the sun to dry; then, carefully laying them in a box of birch-bark, they set out to bring them to our mission of St. Ignace.

There were nearly thirty canoes which formed, in excellent order, that funeral procession. There were also a goodly number of Iroquois, who united with our Algonquin Savages to lend more honor to the ceremonial. When they drew near our house, Father Nouvel, who is the superior, with Father Piercon, went out to meet them, accompanied by the Frenchmen and Savages who were there; and having halted the procession, he put the usual questions to them, to make sure that it was really the father's body which they were bringing. Before conveying it to land, they intoned the *de profundis* in the presence of the thirty canoes, which were still on the water, and of the people who were on the shore. After that, the body was carried to the Church, care being taken to observe all that the ritual appoints in such ceremonies. It remained exposed under the pall, all that day, which was Whitsun-Monday, the 8th, of June; and on the morrow after having rendered to it all the funeral rites, it was lowered into a small vault in the middle of the Church, where it rests as the Guardian Angel of our Outaouas [Ottawa] Missions.¹¹

But in time the little church was destroyed and the precious deposit under it for a time was lost and mayhap forgotten. On September 3, 1877, more than two hundred years after being buried there the bones of Father Marquette were found by Very Reverend Edmund Jacker. The little monument erected over the grave thus discovered near Point Ignace, at the head of East Moran Bay, covers part of the remains. Other parts are preserved in Marquette College, Milwaukee.¹²

AN ECHO OF THE PAST

We catch a glimpse of Father Marquette's original burial place a century and nearly a half after his death. Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard, well known Chicago pioneer, was skirting Lake Michigan with a party of fur-traders in 1818 and relates this incident of the journey:

Our journey around Lake Michigan was rather a long one, having occupied about twenty days. Nothing of interest transpired until we reached Marquette River, about where the town of Ludington now stands. This was the spot where Father Marquette died, about one hundred and forty years before, and we saw the remains of a red cedar cross, erected by his men at the time of his death to mark his grave; and though his remains had been removed to the mission at Point St. Ignace, the cross was held sacred by the voyageurs, who, in passing, paid reverence to it by kneeling and making the sign of the cross. It was about three feet above the ground and in a falling condition. We reset it, leaving it out of the ground about two feet, and as I never saw it after, I doubt not that it was covered by the drifting sands of the following winter, and that no white man ever saw it afterwards.¹³

¹¹ *Jesuit Relations*, Chapter LIX, pp. 201-205.

¹² Jones, *Jesuit Relations* 71, p. 150.

¹³ The Autobiography of Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard, pp. 31-2.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES IN CONNECTION WITH FATHER MARQUETTE

It is not unusual for good and holy persons to be able to foretell with more or less accuracy the time of their death, which we are assured by Father Dablon Father Marquette did, but several other occurrences have been circumstantially related that seem to have been supernatural in their character.

After the death of the devout priest, Father Dablon tells us that :

When it became a question of embarking, to proceed on their journey, one of the two, who for some days had been so heartsick with sorrow, and so greatly prostrated with an internal malady, that he could no longer eat or breathe except with difficulty, bethought himself while the other was making all preparations for embarking, to visit the grave of the good father, and ask his intercession with the glorious Virgin, as he had promised, not doubting in the least that he was in Heaven. He fell, then, upon his knees, and made a short prayer, and having reverently taken some earth from the tomb, he pressed it to his breast. Immediately his sickness abated, and his sorrow was changed into a joy which did not forsake him during the remainder of his journey.¹⁴

Again Father Dablon says :

Not to mention more than this instance, a young girl aged 19 or 20 years, whom the late father had instructed, and who had been baptized in the past year, fell sick, and applied to Father Nouvel to be bled and to take certain remedies. The father prescribed to her, as sole medicine, to come for three days and say a *pater* and three *Ave's* at the tomb of Father Marquette. She did so, and before the 3rd day was cured, without bleeding or any other remedies.¹⁵

There was a story told that the river, on the bank of which Father Marquette was buried in the first instance, had changed its course as if to avoid washing away his remains, the tendency theretofore having been to eat into the shore in which the grave had been dug. To ascertain the facts of this report, Father Charlevoix, when he visited the place of Marquette's burial in 1721, made an investigation and gives the following account :

On the 3rd [of —————] I entered the river of Father Marquette in order to examine whether what I had been told of it was true. This is at first entering it no more than a brook, but fifteen paces higher you enter a lake which is near two leagues in circuit. In order to make way for its discharge into Lake Michigan, one would imagine that a great hummock which you leave on the left as you enter, had been dug through, and on their right the coast is very low for the space of a good musket-shot, afterwards all of a sudden it rises to a very great height. It had actually been represented to me as such, and on that head, the following is the constant tradition of all our travelers and what ancient missionaries have told me.

¹⁴ *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LIX, p. 201.

¹⁵ *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LIX, p. 205.

Father Jacque. Marquette, a native of Laon in Picardy, where his family still maintains a distinguished rank, was one of the most illustrious missionaries of New France. This person traveled over almost all the countries in it, and made several important discoveries, the last of which was that of the Mississippi, which he entered with the Sieur Joliet in 1673. Two years after this discovery, on account of which he has published, as he was going from Chicago, which is at the bottom of Lake Michigan, to Michilimackinac, he entered on the 18th day of May, 1675, the river in question, the mouth of which was then at the extremity of the low ground, which as I have already taken notice, you leave on the right hand as you enter. Here he erected his altar and said Mass. He went afterwards to a small distance in order to render thanks, and begged the two men that conducted his canoe to leave him alone for half an hour. This time having past they went to seek him, and were surprised to find him dead; they called to mind, however, that on entering the river he had let drop an expression that he should end his days at this place.

However, as it was too far to carry his body from thence to Michilimackinac, they buried him near the bank of the river which from that time has retired by degrees, as out of respect to his remains, as far as the cape, the foot of which it now washes, and where it has opened itself a new passage. The year following, one of the persons who had paid the last offices to this servant of God, returned to the place where they had buried him, took what remained of him and carried it to Michilimackinac. I have not been able to learn, or else I have forgot the name this river formerly bore; but at this day the Indians always call it the river of the black robe, for thus the Indians term the Jesuits. They call the secular clergy *White-bands* as they do the Recollects *Grey-gowns*. The French call this river Father Marquette's river, and never fail to call upon him when they are in any danger on Lake Michigan. Several of them have affirmed that they believed themselves indebted to his intercession for having escaped very great dangers.¹⁶

MARQUETTE'S SUCCESSORS

"A successor to the late Father Marquette was needed," says Father Dablon, "who should be no less zealous than he. To fill his place Father Claude Allouez was chosen, who had labored, the leader in all our missions to the Outaouahs [Ottawas] with untiring courage. He was engaged at the time in that of St. Francois Xavier in the Bay Des Paunts [Green Bay], and was soon ready to set out."¹⁷

Father Allouez wrote a description of his journey, a part of which was made in an extraordinary way. The lake being frozen the canoe was placed on the ice and a sail rigged which "made it go as on the water." When the breeze died down the canoe was drawn along with ropes. What the Allouez said with reference to the Illinois country is of especial interest:

¹⁶ Charlevoix's *Voyages*, pp. 95-97.

¹⁷ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LX, p. 149.

After voyaging 76 leagues over the lake of Saint Joseph, we at length entered the river which leads to the Illinois. I met there 80 savages of the country, by whom I was welcomed in a very hospitable manner. The Captain came about 30 steps to meet me, carrying in one hand a firebrand and in the other a Calumet adorned with feathers. Approaching me, he placed it in my mouth and himself lighted the tobacco, which obliged me to make pretense of smoking it. Then he made me come into his cabin, and having given me the place of honor, he spoke to me as follows:

“My Father, have pity on me; suffer me to return with thee, to bear thee company and take thee into my village. The meeting I have had today with thee will prove fatal to me if I do not use it to my advantage. Thou bearest to us the gospel and the prayer. If I lose the opportunity of listening to thee, I shall be punished by the loss of my nephews, whom thou seest in so great number; without doubt, they will be defeated by our enemies. Let us embark, then, in company, that I may profit by thy coming into our land.” That said, he set out at the same time as ourselves, and shortly after we arrived at his abode.

FATHER ALLOUEZ ARRIVES AT THE MISSION

Notwithstanding all the efforts that we made to hasten our journey, it was not until the 27th of April that I was able to arrive at Kaskaskia, the great village of the Illinois. I entered at once, the cabin in which Father Marquette had lodged; and, the old men being assembled there with the entire population, I made known the reason for which I had come to them,—namely, to preach to them the true God, living and immortal, and his only son Jesus Christ. They listened very attentively to my whole discourse and thanked me for the trouble that I was taking for their salvation.

I found this village largely increased since a year ago. Formerly, it was composed of but one nation, that of the Kaskaskia; at the present time, there are eight tribes in it, the first having summoned the others who inhabited the neighborhood of the river Mississippi. One cannot well satisfy himself as to the number of people who compose that village. They are housed in 351 cabins, which are easily counted, as most of them are situated upon the bank of the river.

The spot which they have chosen for their abode is situated in latitude 40 degrees 41 minutes. On one side of it is a long stretch of prairie, and on the other a multitude of swamps, which are (render the atmosphere) unhealthy and often covered with fog,—giving rise to much sickness, and to loud and frequent peals of thunder; they delight, however, in this location, as they can easily espy from it their enemies.

PLANTING THE CROSS

Shortly after his arrival, on May 3, 1677, the “Feast of the Holy Cross,” Father Allouez “erected in the midst of the town a cross thirty-five feet high, chanting the *Vexilla Regis*, in the presence of a great number of Illinois of all tribes.”

This demonstration was typical of the practice of the missionaries in establishing a mission. The “Way of the Cross” that eventually

stretched from the first French settlement at Port Royal (now Annapolis, Nova Scotia) all the way up the St. Lawrence, around the Great Lakes and down the Illinois and Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico was similarly established.

The "Feast of the Holy Cross" was a favorite date for such ceremonies and it is interesting to know the tradition connected with this Feast day.

About the end of the reign of the emperor Phocas, Chosroes, the king of the Persians, invaded Egypt and Africa. He then took possession of Jerusalem; and after massacring there many thousand Christians, he carried away into Persia the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, which Helena had placed upon Mount Calvary. Phocas was succeeded in the empire by Heraclius, who, after enduring many losses and misfortunes in the course of the war, sued for peace, but was unable to obtain it even upon disadvantageous terms, so elated was Chosroes by victories. In this perilous situation he applied himself to prayer and fasting, and earnestly implored God's assistance. Then, admonished from heaven, he raised an army, marched against the enemy, and defeated three of Chosroes' generals with their armies.

Subdued by these disasters, Chosroes took flight; and, when about to cross the river Tigris, named his son Medarses his associate in the kingdom. But his eldest son Siroes, bitterly resenting this insult, plotted the murder of his father. He soon afterwards overtook them in flight, and put them both to death. Siroes then had himself recognized as king by Heraclius, on certain conditions, the first of which was to restore the Cross of our Lord. Thus fourteen years after it had fallen into the hands of the Persians, the cross was recovered; and on his return to Jerusalem, Heraclius, with great pomp, bore it back on his own shoulders to the mountain whither our Saviour had carried it.

This event was signalized by a remarkable miracle. Heraclius, attired as he was in robes adorned with gold and precious stones, was forced to stand still at the gate which led to Mount Calvary. The more he endeavored to advance, the more he seemed fixed to the spot. Heraclius himself and all the people were astonished; but Zacharias, the bishop of Jerusalem, said: "Consider, O Emperor, how little thou imitatest the poverty and humility of Jesus Christ by carrying the Cross clad in triumphal robes." Heraclius thereupon laid aside his magnificent apparel, and barefoot, clothed in mean attire, he easily completed the rest of the way, and replaced the cross in the same place on Mount Calvary, whence it had been carried off by the Persians. From this event, the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross,

which was celebrated yearly on this day, gained fresh lustre, in memory of the Cross being replaced by Heraclius on the spot where it had first been set up for our Saviour.

At different times and places this Feast was celebrated on the 14th of September.¹⁸

Continuing his relation Father Allouez says :

As I had but a short time to remain here,—having only come to acquire the information necessary for the establishment of a complete mission,—I immediately applied myself to give all the instruction I could to these eight different nations, to whom, by the grace of God, I made myself sufficiently understood. I went, for that purpose, into the cabin of the Chief of the nation that I wished to instruct; and, there making ready a small altar, using the ornaments of my portable chapel, I exposed the Crucifix; when they had looked at it, I explained to them the mysteries of our holy faith. I could not have desired a larger audience or closer attention. They carried to me their smaller children to be baptized, and brought me the older ones to be instructed. They themselves repeated all the prayers that I taught them. In a word, after I had done the same for all the nations, *I had recognized, as a result, the same number of peoples to whom nothing more remained* (I saw that nothing was lacking to all these peoples) save careful cultivation, for them to become good Christians. This is what we hope hereafter to effect at leisure.

* * *

The time for my departure having come, I bade adieu to these peoples, and left them eagerly anticipating my return as soon as possible—an expectation all the more willingly encouraged by me, inasmuch as on the one hand I have great reason for thanking God for the little crosses of which, in this voyage, he granted me a share; and because on the other I see the mission quite ready, and very promising. Doubtless, the devil will oppose himself to it, and perhaps will profit by the war which the Iroquois intend to make against the Illinois. I pray our Lord to avert it, lest beginnings as glorious may be entirely destroyed.

FATHER ALLOUEZ KNOWN TO THE ILLINOIS

Father Allouez was no stranger to the Illinois. They had sat at his feet and listened to his eloquence before. His report to his superior concerning these savages written from the Mission of St. Francois Xavier is interesting :

The church that we have in this Mission summons from a very great distance the savages who dwell beyond the Mississippi, to come and live among the Mascoutens; it calls the Illinois from a still greater distance to come and settle in their former country, near the lake that bears their name, six days' journey from the Mascoutens.

Those who are called the Kaskaskias have already been here for a year or two, as they had promised Father Dablon when I was his companion in the Mission to the Miamis.

¹⁸ See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 532.

The other Illinois, called Peorias, are gradually coming here to settle, in the conviction that the house of God will protect them, and keep them safer than they formerly were. Accordingly, all the fine missions already begun in these barbarous countries are no less important through the hope of the fruits they promise, than through the multitude of tribes to whom the Gospel is preached there.

I have already visited the Kaskaskias, and have baptized many of their children; and I have borne the first words of the Faith to the Peorialeas, who dwell among the Miamis, and they have listened to me with much docility. They have even begun to pray, and have promised me to come and dwell nearer to us to have the advantage of being instructed at leisure.¹⁹

FATHER ALLOUEZ CONTINUES THE MISSION

“In 1679 Allouez revisited the mission, and remained until the approach of La Salle’s expedition of that year, when he withdrew to the north. In 1684 he again repaired to the Illinois accompanied by M. Durantaye, who then commanded at Mackinac. He was there sick in 1687, when the Cavalier Joutel party reached Fort St. Louis from Texas, but they left shortly after, on hearing that La Salle was still alive. Although chiefly a missionary to the Miamis, Allouez still clung to his Illinois mission, which he probably visited once more in 1689. He died at Fort Miami in 1690.”²⁰

The visits mentioned by Wallace are such only as have been found expressly recorded. The veteran missionary was, we are justified in believing, constantly on the move among his savage congregations at the Miamis and all along the Illinois River until the time of his death.

(To Be Continued)

Chicago, Illinois.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON, LL. D.

¹⁹ Allouez in Thwaites *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LVIII, pp. 265-67.

²⁰ Wallace, *History of Illinois and Louisiana*, p. 198.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE MISSOURI VALLEY INTO HISTORY

Herewith is a hitherto unpublished sketch-map of the Mississippi basin to illustrate a *Relation* based upon two letters (February 28 and March 4, 1700) of the famous pathfinder, Henri de Tonty. Of the two copies of the croquis listed by Harrisse, *Notes sur la Cartographie de la Nouvelle France*, p. 215, one, neatly executed in colors, is in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (Mss. Français, 9097, f. 107). Though crudely made and showing little if any advance in acquaintance with the Missouri country over the Marquette and Jolliet maps of a quarter of a century before, the sketch has points of interest to students of early Western cartography. Thus, the Rocky Mountains are indicated while the historic Tamaroa Mission is placed on the right bank of the Mississippi in the locality of St. Louis. The accompanying *Relation*, however, seems to state (which was the fact), that the Mission stood on the left bank. Possibly the cartographer, availing himself of information of later date than the de Tonti letters, wished to indicate the French-Indian-Jesuit settlement actually laid out in the fall of 1700 on or very close to the site of present-day St. Louis. To read the descriptive title, reverse the map. For photostat copies of the map and accompanying *Relation* the writer is indebted to the courtesy of M. Edmond Buron, Paris, and Dr. Walter Doughty, Director of the Dominion Archives, Ottawa, Canada.

I

It is now thirty-three years since Professor Henry Jackson Turner in a paper read at the ninth annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Chicago, 1893, first announced his now famous thesis that the most significant factor in the historical development of the United States has been "the advancing frontier." Having met with widespread and sometimes enthusiastic favor among scholars and workers in the field of American history, the thesis is now being challenged as of exaggerated importance, out of harmony with a mass of facts and inadequate as a key to the interpretation of certain major phenomena in our national history. Meantime, however, it has unquestionably proved a stimulating and even inspiring conception and much excellent history has come to be written around it. For one thing, it has served to direct attention to the Trans-Mississippi West as the section of the country more particularly identified with the story of the American frontier. Very largely through its influence the West has generally met with adequate treatment if not with an altogether generous and outstanding measure of attention in the recent literature of American history. Set out in striking relief in the Turner thesis, the Old Frontier, always a thing of mystery and charm in the popular mind, where it goes along with such stirring

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one-time realities as the Great Plains, Indian warfare and the Covered Wagon, took on added significance as the secrets of it stood revealed in numerous studies of the special student and researcher.

It is with this ever-alluring subject of the Trans-Mississippi West that the present paper purposes to deal, having for its special aim to trace the earliest recorded attempts at exploration and missionary enterprise up the Valley of the Missouri. The source-material drawn upon is partly archival and partly printed, the topic in its double aspect not being one, as far as the writer is aware, which has hitherto engaged the attention of students of Western history.¹ Space-limitations will necessitate a certain sketchiness of treatment, but it is hoped that some unfamiliar and probably not uninteresting history will be set before the reader.

Jean Nicolet, the first white man to reach Wisconsin (1634), brought back from his adventure some fascinating hearsay he had picked up concerning the wonderful country that lay to the West beyond the limits of his trek. But the idea of exploring this unknown territory, so Henri Harrisse declares, was first given expression to by the Jesuit missionaries of New France.² "It would be a noble undertaking," said the *Relation* of 1640, "to go and explore these countries."³ Twenty-six years later (1666) Claude Allouez, outstanding member of the Jesuit group, gave to the world the earliest notice by name of "*la grande rivière nommée Messipi*."⁴ Though a century and a third had elapsed since Coronado's eventful march across the plains of the Southwest to shadowy Quivira, the memory of it was still stirring men's imaginations and exciting their cupidity. So it was that when Louis Jolliet and Jacques Marquette set out in 1673 on their historic quest of the Mississippi there lay behind the enterprise the hopes of its temporal promoters that a way would thus be opened up to the South Sea, the Pacific Ocean of today, or

¹ In the preparation of this paper the writer has drawn upon notes taken in personal research in the *Archives Coloniales*, Paris, in the summer of 1925, supplemented by subsequent study in the mass of copied material from the same Archives to be found in the Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois. The Ayer Collection of material on Western history in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and the Archives of Laval University, Quebec, made accessible to the writer through the kindness of the scholarly archivist, the Right Rev. Amedée Gosselin, have also furnished pertinent data. The printed sources utilized are for the most part indicated in the foot-notes.

² Henri Harrisse, *Notes sur la Cartographie de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1872, p. 121.

³ *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites ed.) 18:237.

⁴ *Id.*, 51:53.

even to the alluring gold mines of Quivira.⁵ If such were the secular aims of the expedition, its spiritual objective, as conceived by Marquette, was the winning of new lands to the Cross of Christ. Having entered the Mississippi from the Wisconsin, June 17, 1673, the two explorers found themselves somewhere about the following July 4, at the mouth of the Missouri. The date is a significant one, for it marks the discovery of the great waterway of the Trans-Mississippi West. It is so usual to think of Jolliet and Marquette as discoverers of the Mississippi that we lose sight of the almost equally important fact that they are likewise discoverers of the Missouri. In his *Journal* Marquette penned the earliest notice we possess of the noble stream and its far-flung valley. The passage is a notable one in its union of religious fervor, graphic first-hand description and shrewd geographical conjecture.

While conversing about these monsters, sailing quietly in clear and calm water, we heard the noise of a rapid, in which we were about to run. I have seen nothing more dreadful. An accumulation of large and entire trees, branches and floating islands, was issuing from the mouth of the river Pekitanoui, with such impetuosity that we could not without great danger risk passing through it. So great was the agitation that the water was very muddy and could not become clear.

Pekitanoui is a river of considerable size, coming from the Northwest, from a great Distance; and it discharges into the Missisipi. There are many Villages of savages along this river, and I hope by its means to discover the vermilion or California Sea [Gulf of California].

Judging from the Direction of the course of the Missisipi, if it continue the same way, we think that it discharges into the Mexican gulf. It would be a great advantage to find the river leading to the southern sea, toward California: and as I have said, this is what I hope to do by means of the Pekitanoui, according to the reports made to me by the savages.

Probably the Illinois, whom Marquette was dependent on for his data, were not themselves clearly informed as to the course of the Upper Missouri. Certainly the distances they gave him were strangely underestimated. And yet the missionary had grasped with substantial correctness a route, whether practical or not, to the Pacific, that, namely, by the Missouri, Platte and Colorado rivers, with a portage between the two last named. The last leg of the route was a river which flows towards the West, where it falls into the sea. I have hardly any doubt that it is the vermilion sea, and I do not despair of discovering it some day, if God grants me the grace and the health to do so, in order that I may preach the Gospel to all the peoples of this new world who have so long groveled in the darkness of infidelity.⁶

⁶ Id., 59:87.

Though Marquette was never to ascend the Missouri, he had the distinction with Jolliet of first putting the Trans-Mississippi West in a literal sense "on the map." The maps of the two explorers indicate the Missouri though without naming it, these being the earliest appearances of that river in cartography. Moreover, the maps indicate by name many of the well-known Western Indian tribes of later history, locating them in positions corresponding more or less to those which they occupied when white men first made their acquaintance. Thus the holographic Marquette map of 1673-74 names in order from East to West the Schange (Osage), Scmess8rit (Missouri), Kansa and Paniassa (Wichita), and in the same order on a line further north, the Otonanta (Oto), Pana (Pawnee), Maha (Omaha), the Pah8tet (Iowa). In the Thevenot Marquette map of 1681 we have the Indian tribe registered as 8missouri, the exact present-day orthography of the name except for the initial 8 (ou). Jolliet's map of 1674, finely executed as being the work of a skilled cartographer, presents practically the same series of Western Indian tribes as is found in the Marquette maps. To these two distinguished Frenchmen belongs, accordingly, the distinction of having first given a definite place in cartography to the great stretch of United States territory west of the Mississippi.⁷

II

Nine years had passed since the epoch-making expedition of Jolliet and Marquette when, on February 14, 1682, Robert Cavelier de la Salle, in his historic descent of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, reached the mouth of the Missouri. The Indians had put him in possession of much interesting information as to the mysterious country which it drained. He catalogues some of the native tribes settled in the interior, places the *nation des Pana* or Pawnee at 200 leagues to the West, and estimates the navigable course of the *rivière des Missouriites* at more than 400 leagues or approximately 1000 English miles. He suggests the idea, often to be repeated after him, that

⁶ Id., 59:141, 143. According to Gabriel Marest, S. J. (1712), Pekitanoui signifies "muddy water." Tonty translates Missouri "abundant in people." The length of the Missouri from Three Forks, Montana, to its mouth is 2547 miles. Chappell, *A History of the Missouri River in Kansas Historical Collection*, 9:237.

⁷ Jolliet's letter to Frontenac inscribed as a cartouche on his map of 1674 indicates a western tributary of the Mississippi, evidently the Missouri, which affords a passage to the Vermilion Sea. Further, he visits an Indian village which is only five days distant from a nation, *qui a commerce avec ceux de la Californie*. Ernest Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, Quebec, 1902, p. 86.

perhaps the Missouri is to be considered the main stream and the Upper Mississippi only a tributary of the same, and this on account of "its depth, its breadth, the volume of its waters, the great number of nations that dwell along it, and the excellence of the country which it waters."⁸

Other members of de la Salle's party, as his nephew, Nicholas de la Salle, his lieutenant, Henri de Tonty and his chaplain, the Recollect, Father Zenobius Membré, also put on record data concerning the mighty river which they passed on their right a few leagues below the Illinois.

It is just as large [notes Membré] as the river Colbert [Mississippi] into which it empties, and which is so disturbed by it that from the mouth of this river the water is hardly drinkable. The Indians assured us that this river is formed by many others and that they ascend it for ten or twelve days to a mountain where they have their source; and that beyond this mountain is the sea where great ships are seen; that it [the Missouri] is peopled by a great number of large villages, of several different nations; that there are lands and prairies and great cattle and beaver hunting.⁹

Baron Lahontan, if one can credit his account, entered the Missouri at its mouth under an escort of Outagami or Fox Indians, December 17, 1688, going upstream as far as the Osage. He visited the Missouri villages, one of which his Fox friends would have had him set fire to, after killing the inhabitants. "Had I been of the same mind with the Outagamies, we had done noble exploits in this place."¹⁰ As it was, the redoubtable Baron before quitting the Missouri did give one of their villages to the flames. On Christmas Day, 1688, after spending eight days on the Missouri river, he passed from its turbid waters into the Mississippi. This chapter of Lahontan's alleged adventures is generally thought to be made of whole cloth.¹¹ "*Il n'a jamais eu lieu,*" writes summarily his latest critic, Baron de Villiers.¹² What Lahontan wrote down concerning the "Long River," its weirdly named Indian tribes and the map of the Far West which one of them kindly traced for him on a deer-skin, is surely fantastic enough. The map accompanying the London, 1703, edition of his travels shows the

⁸ Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français, etc.*, 2:180.

⁹ Le Clerq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, New York, 1881, 2:164.

¹⁰ Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America*, London, 1703, 1:131.

¹¹ However, Houck in his standard *History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908, 1:139) accepts as substantially true Lahontan's narrative of his experiences on the Missouri.

¹² Baron Marc de Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri et l'Histoire du Fort d'Orléans* (1673-1728), Paris, 1925, p. 28.

section contributed by the Indians with the legend, "A map drawn upon stag-skins by ye Guacsitares who gave me to know ye Latitudes of all ye places marked in it by pointing to ye respective places of ye heavens the one or t'other corresponded to." At the same time the cautious de L'Isle, leading French cartographer of the period, in his map of identical date, 1703, takes account of Lahontan's alleged discoveries.¹³

Setting aside Lahontan's exploration of the Lower Missouri as at least problematical, one finds on record an even earlier visit of white men to the region named. La Salle vouches for the fact that in 1680 or '81 two French *coureurs de bois* were captured on the Mississippi by Missouri Indians and taken off to their village.¹⁴ This would seem to be the earliest recorded presence of white men on the Missouri. Later, in the last decade of the seventeenth century, relations were established between the Jesuit missionary-post of Kaskaskia on the Illinois River and some of the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi. In May, 1693, a party made up of two French traders and some Kaskaskia Indians visited the Missouri and Osage villages to cement an alliance with these tribes. Father Gravier would gladly have joined the party, only he did not anticipate a kindly reception from these strange tribes where there were libertines "who do not love the Missionary's presence."

I would willingly have performed that journey to see for myself whether anything could be done there fore the glory of God among the Tamaroua and Kaoukia who are Illinois; and to sound the Missouri and Osages in order to ascertain what could be obtained from them in regard to Christianity—for I have no doubt that I would have found many dying children and adults to baptize.

The traders returned to Kaskaskia, June 20, accompanied by two chiefs, one from each village, and "some elders and women." "The Osages and Missouris," observed Father Gravier apropos of the occasion, "do not appear to be as quick-witted as the Illinois; their language does not seem very difficult. The former do not open their lips, and the latter speak more from the throat than they."¹⁵

The visit of these Western tribes to the Illinois being repeated in succeeding years, much detailed information concerning the Missouri country was picked up by the missionaries and military authorities. An unpublished memoir, apparently of Desliettes, commandant of

¹³ A copy of this map is in the Margry collection of Ms. maps in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

¹⁴ Margry, *op. cit.*, 2:325.

¹⁵ *Jesuit Relation*, 64:161, 169.

the Illinois post in Tonty's absence in Canada (1691), supplies some interesting data. After observing that when the Illinois go to war with the Pawnees or Akansas, "who are established on the river of the Missouri, almost all the village marches," he continues:

Several savages of the nations that live there, who often come to trade among the Illinois, have assured me that it [the Missouri] comes from a great lake which has still another outlet on the other side, which would lead me to believe from their report that it falls into the Western Sea. The Panis [Pawnees] and Paniassay [Wichita], who live in the territory and the neighborhood of this river, have relations with the Spaniards from whom they get horses of which they make use sometimes to pursue the buffalo in the hunt. . . . The savages of whom I have spoken, and who come to trade among the Illinois are the Oossages [Osage] and Missouriita [Missouri], who not long ago had war with them and who, aside from their need of hatchets, knives and awls and other things are very glad to keep on the good side of this nation which is much more warlike than theirs. They never fail every year to come among them and to bring the calumet, which is the symbol of peace among all the nations of the south.¹⁶

From his Kaskaskia mission on the Illinois Father Gabriel Marest, S. J., dispatched, July 10, 1700, to d'Iberville, founder of Biloxi and Mobile, all the information he was able to muster on the Valley of the Missouri.

As to the Missouri, it is a very beautiful and large-sized river extending as far as the Mississippi. It is entirely covered with different nations of Indians. It is exceedingly rapid, gives the Mississippi its very great swiftness and spoils all its waters. Its real name is the Pekitanoui and the French call it the Missouri because this people is the first you meet there. Then come the Arkansas [Kansa], who are on a little river of their own name. Then the Pana, Paniassa or rather Panis [Pawnee]. These nations are very numerous and by way of their river, which discharges into the Pekitanoui, they carry on commerce with the Spaniards. Our warriors have brought us horses and bridles, which these nations took from the Spaniards, and Rouensa at present has one of them. However, it seems to me it was La Chenais who came from that country with the Indians, that made him a present of this horse.

¹⁶ The Desliettes memoir on the Illinois country (signed by a certain De Gannes) is found in a volume of transcripts (apparently from French government archives) bearing on the front cover the legend, *A la substitution du Valdec Proche Soleure en Suisse 1725*. This is one of a series of five similarly richly bound volumes of unknown provenance containing much unpublished material on American history of the French period. The series is at present in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. The De Gannes memoir, though dated October 20, 1721, was probably written at an earlier date, as the writer refers to the Kaskaskia Indians as still living on the Illinois River, from which they moved in 1700. The extract in the text is cited from the ms. translation in the Newberry Library.

Father Marest then goes on to mention the river of the Autantas (Oto) as also that of the Paouté and Aiouais (Iowa) but he sends no particulars about them, as neither he nor any Frenchman had ever been upon them. However, as to the Pekitanoui, so he assures d'Iberville, "I can tell you that it is the country of the beaver."¹⁷

III

The March of 1699 saw the establishment of the Mission of the Holy Family of the Tamaroa, the future Cahokia, on the east bank of the Mississippi, directly opposite the site on which the city of St. Louis was to rise in later years. Its founders were the so-called Seminary priests of Quebec, or the Fathers of the Society of Foreign Missions. In the autumn of the following year, 1700, the Kaskaskia Indians, having abandoned their village on the Illinois River, settled on the west bank of the Mississippi River a few miles below Cahokia, immediately at or very close to the mouth of the river subsequently known as the Des Peres. Here they were joined by their Jesuit pastors and a number of French from Cahokia, the resulting settlement being, apart from the previously existing Indian villages, the earliest founded on the west side of the Mississippi.¹⁸ The dawn of the eighteenth century consequently saw two zealous missionary bodies, the Society of Jesus and the Society of Foreign Missions, estab-

¹⁷ Marest's letter is cited in Villiers *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34, but with no indication of its provenance. Upon it, in the opinion of Villiers, de L'Isle relied for data concerning the Missouri in his beautiful unpublished map (1702) of the Mississippi Valley, copies of which are in the Library of Congress and that of the St. Louis University. The La Chesnaie (Chenaye) mentioned by Marest is apparently the *coureur de bois* domiciled for some time with the Iowa Indians in the last decade of the seventeenth century. One may qualify him as the earliest known-by-name white resident of the Missouri Valley. Dated the same year (1700) as Marest's letter is an unpublished "Relation" of Tonty with accompanying croquis or sketch-map containing whatever information about the Missouri the explorer was able at that time to command. The croquis indicates that river as rising in a mountain-range (Rocky Mountains). A reproduction of Tonty's Relation and croquis is in the St. Louis University Library. Cf. also HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 215. Twenty-one years later (1721), Father Charlevoix was to hear from a Missouri woman whom he met at Kaskaskia confirmation of what the Sioux had told him, "that the Missouri rises out of some naked mountains, very high, behind which there is a great river which probably rises from them also and which runs to the West." Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, etc. Dublin, 1766, 2:168.

¹⁸ The existence of this interesting settlement, previously known only as a matter of vague tradition, has been satisfactorily established on a basis of contemporary documentary evidence by Rev. Laurence J. Kenny, S. J., in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, 1:151-156.

lished in neighboring stations, each with hopes, if not with definite plans, for the evangelization of the vast territory that lay toward the setting sun. The Jesuit, Father Limoges, arriving at Cahokia, March 9, 1700, made known to the Seminary priest, Father St. Cosme, his desire to plant the cross among the tribes of the Missouri River, especially the Osage.¹⁹ On the other hand, the Seminary clergymen were hoping to venture into the same field. Father Bergier, St. Cosme's successor at Cahokia, was writing in May, 1702:

The two principal missions which I should like to take in hand, if there were men and money, are the Cancez [Kansa] and the Panimahas [Loups] along the river of the Missouris. The Ozages are not so considerable and the Missouris are almost reduced to nothing.²⁰

In fact, the Seminary of Quebec had asked and obtained from Bishop St. Vallier by letters-patent dated June 4, 1698, a grant of the Tamaroa Missions as a necessary key to the entire Valley of the Missouri.

The river of the Missouris on which are the nation of the Panis and others which had been given to the said Seminary being only six leagues from the nation called the Tamarois, it was judged of the utmost consequence in order to succeed in this enterprise that we ask it [the Tamarois mission] from the Bishop of Quebec.²¹

At Paris, in 1700, the Superiors of the Society of Foreign Missions were insisting on the retention of the Tamarois post as a convenient point of contact "with the missions of the Missouris and the Aksas (Kansas?) which we prefer to others as being farthest from the French and consequently more promising in fruit, although the expenses of the same will be much greater."²² In the event, resident missionary work among the Missouri Valley tribes was not to be taken up by the Seminary clergymen, while nearly a century and a half was to pass before the Society of Jesus actually began to cultivate this field.

While the Seminary priests and Jesuits were thus looking wistfully towards the West and its measureless harvest of human souls ready to be gathered in, the earliest definitely recorded expeditions of

¹⁹ St. Cosme à Monseigneur (de Quebec), March, 1700. Laval University Archives.

²⁰ Bergier à, May 4, 1702. Laval University Archives.

²¹ *Mémoire au sujet de la Mission des Tamarois*. Laval Transcripts, pp. 32-34. Illinois Historical Survey.

²² *Mémoire touchant la Mission des Tamarois*, 1700. Laval Transcripts, p. 30. Illinois Historical Survey.

exploration, trade or military occupation began to push up the Missouri River. To anticipate the Spaniards who were advancing energetically from the Southwest towards the Missouri and to blaze a trail to the far-famed metal mines of New Mexico were the motives behind most of these ventures into the Western wilderness.

D'Iberville, Governor of the Louisiana colony, announced from La Rochelle, February 15, 1703, that "twenty Canadians left from the Tamaroas to discover New Mexico, trade in piasters (dollars) and see what are the mines of which the Indians spoke to them."²³

One or other detail of their expedition is supplied by Father Bergier, the Tamaroa pastor, according to whom seventeen Frenchmen left his village in March, 1702, to ascend the Missouri two hundred leagues, there to build a fort between the Pawnees and the Iowa, a locality somewhere along the Iowa-Nebraska state-line. They desired to take a missionary with them, but none was available. In the course of the expedition they were attacked by Indians and had to fortify themselves on an island in the river.²⁴ In all probability they returned to the Tamaroa unharmed, Father Bergier saying nothing as to the final issue of the adventure. This would appear to be the first regularly organized expedition of white men known to have gone up the Missouri.

Four or five years later, 1706 or 1707, Derbanne, subsequently commandant at Natchitoches, was on the Missouri, with a party of men making a record for up-river navigation of that river by the French, as he wrote in a report from the above-named for dated June 12, 1724.

I should gladly speak to you of the Missouri which I entered nearly 18 years ago [1706]. We ascended nearly 400 leagues from its mouth. These are the first of the French to have been so far into the interior.

Derbanne met with traces of the Spaniards, such as *morceaux des chasubles* and *chevaux de mulets*, which the Indians must have plundered from the Padres. Derbanne adds that certain people profited from his discovery. "It is true that New Mexico is not far from the Missouri; but there is no silver in New Mexico, according to what the Spaniards say."²⁵

²³ Margry, 6:180.

²⁴ Bergier correspondence. Laval University Archives.

²⁵ *Rélation du Poste de Natchitoches: Mémoire signé Derbanne aux Natchitoches 12 Juin 1724*. This document (p. 458) is contained in a volume of transcripts bearing the general title *Mémoires de l'Améri(que) et opinion Des ses Habitans*, the volume being one of the series referred to in note 17.

Sometime prior to 1705 one Laurain had been up the Missouri, bringing back a confused account of its meanderings and in 1706 Bienville, future founder of New Orleans, reported that a couple of Canadians had spent two years going from one village to another on the same river. In 1708 Bienville was assured by a Canadian named Boudon that numerous tin mines could be found along the Missouri. Two years later the ensign Darac with two soldiers was despatched by Bienville to the Missouri, ostensibly to make presents to the Indians, but actually to trade in peltries and slaves, so at least it was reported to Paris.²⁶ But all those initial adventures on the Missouri were without any real significance. The serious and systematic exploration of the great waterway, as far as any record of it has survived in history, was to begin with Etienne Veniard de Bourgmond.

IV

All the glamour of the old frontier hangs about the name of the Sieur de Bourgmond. He was commandant in 1706 at Detroit, where he skilfully repulsed a Fox attack; but he subsequently deserted, being, however, pardoned by Cadillac and reinstated in the service. In 1712 he first made the acquaintance of the Missouri Indians, who had come to the relief of Du Buisson, besieged at Detroit, whom he accompanied on their return to the West. Here he became the idol of the Indian tribes up and down the Missouri. In 1714 he navigated the river as far as the Platte, keeping an accurate log of the voyage, which the Baron de Villiers has only recently brought to light. Another Bourgmond document, a description of the Missouri basin embodying the results of the explorer's later voyages, which apparently brought him as far north as the Dakotas, has also been published by the same indefatigable French researcher.²⁷ On August 11, 1720, at the confluence of the rivers Platte and Loup in the present Nebraska took place the massacre at the hands of the Loup and Oto Indians of the so-called Spanish caravan, a military party of sixty trespassing within the limits of French Louisiana.²⁸ One of the chaplains and the soldier, Tamaris, were the only members of the party to get back

²⁶ Villiers, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

²⁷ These two important documents for early Missouri history both from the Archives Hydrographiques are printed for the first time by Villiers in his above-mentioned published study.

²⁸ Baron de Villiers' account of the massacre in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, 13:239-250 has appeared in translation in the *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days*, 4:1.

to New Mexico. The episode awakened France to the necessity of a military occupation of the Missouri, and this Bourgmund was commissioned to undertake. His instructions were to build a fort, ingratiate himself with all the river-tribes, and especially make an alliance with the Padoucas or Comanches as a buffer against the Spaniards. All these objects he successfully accomplished. Having arrived at the Missouri village with a party of some forty Frenchmen November 9, 1723, he erected his fort, to be known as Fort Orleans, on the opposite or north bank of the river in Carroll County, Missouri. The fort was evacuated apparently in 1728, there being no evidence to show that its garrison was massacred by the Indians, as was at one time believed.²⁹

With Bourgmund at Fort Orleans in the capacity of chaplain was a Seminary missionary, Father Jean Baptiste Mercier, pioneer resident priest of the Missouri, the *appartement séparé pour servir l'église*, which the commandant built for him being the earliest known house of worship erected in the valley of the great river. The *Te Deum* chanted by Mercier at the fort, November 5, 1724, on Bourgmund's return from his adventurous march across the Kansas plains was a unique religious ceremony in the history of the West. He had come down from Canada in 1718, being stationed at Cahokia until he accompanied Bourgmund in 1723 up the Missouri. Father Charlevoix carried away pleasant recollections of a visit paid to him at Cahokia in 1721:

I passed the Night in the House of the Missionaries, which are two Ecclesiastics of the Seminary of Quebec, formerly my Disciples, but who might be now my Masters. The elder of the two [Thaumur de la Source] was absent, I found the younger [Mercier] such as he had been reported to me, severe to himself, full of charity for others and making Virtue amiable in his own person. But he has so little Health that I think he cannot long support the Way of Life, which they are obliged to lead in these Missions.³⁰

Father Mercier's five years at Cahokia had brought him a ready acquaintance with the Illinois language and in a contemporary document he appears as interpreter in a dispute at Fort Orleans between

²⁹ The hitherto generally accepted belief that Fort Orleans was built on an island in the Missouri (see, *e. g.*, map in Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, 1:138) is refuted by Villiers, who places it on a sort of peninsula on the left bank formed by the Tetsau Bend about two miles above the outlet of the Wakenda River. This identification of the site of the first French military post in the Missouri country is not the least important of the results of the Baron's recent researches.

³⁰ Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, etc., Dublin, 1766, 2:164.

the Indians and the French.³¹ Together with the commandant he made visits to the Missouri and Osage villages, where he apparently made an impression upon the Indians. The Missouri river Indians who accompanied Bourgmond to France in 1725 declare in their address to Louis XV "that they never had any one to teach them to pray save only a white collar who came to them a little time ago, whom they are happy to have and [they] beseech you to send others."³² Though the Company of the Indies, leaseholder at this period of the Louisiana colony, had assured Mercier an annual salary of 600 livres, complaint is made in a contemporary memoir emanating from the Society of Foreign Missions that the missionary had received no subsidy whatever *pour avoir accompagné M. de Bourgmond dans la découverte du Missouri et y être resté avec lui autant de temps qu'il y est resté.*³³

In 1725 Desliettes, commandant of the Illinois country, was instructed to thank *le Sr. Mercier, aumonier du Poste des Missouris*, for his services, it being noted, however, "that in all the Posts where there are no inhabitants and consequently no casual [free-will offering for ministerial services], it is morally impossible for a Priest to live and support himself there on 600 [livres] for everything."³⁴ The order for the abandonment of the fort issued at the Paris headquarters of the Company of the Indies October 27, 1727, specified that "a missionary was to be left there if he thinks he can make any progress in the preaching of the Gospel among the Indians," and a salary for this purpose was to be assured him.³⁵ Father Mercier, however, retired from Fort Orleans with the French troops or possibly earlier, resuming his previous functions of resident missionary at Cahokia.

Meantime, the Seminary priests still clung to their original purpose of evangelizing the Indians of the Missouri. The one thing that keeps them at Cahokia, despite great financial embarrassment, so they declare in 1724, is

the hope they have that this little establishment will serve as entrepot and nursery for scattering missionaries among the Indians of the river of the

³¹ Archives Nationales, Colonies, C 13 a 8:210.

³² *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days*, 4:10. The Indians called the Seminary Priests "white collars" (*collets blancs*) as they called the Jesuits "black robes" (*robes noirs*).

³³ *Mémoire sur l'établissement de la Mission des Tamarois, 1694-1724*. Laval Transcripts, p. 21. Illinois Historical Survey.

³⁴ *Extrait de Lettre du Conseil de la Louisiane du 23 avril 1725*. Archives Nationales, Colonies, C 13 a 9.

³⁵ Arch. Nat. Colonies, C 13 a 11:92.

Missouri where they have been the first [to go] and with which they can more easily communicate from the locality where they are now established.³⁶

A letter from the remarkably zealous Mercier to his Superiors in Quebec, Cahokia, May 21, 1735, notes that the missionaries sent by them up the Missouri must each carry along a complete chapel-outfit; moreover, he discusses almost daily with his neighbor, Father Courier, also a Seminary priest, the prospect for "the missions which it is desirable should be established on the Missouri river."³⁷ Like other missionaries of the period he protested vigorously against the sale of liquor to the Indians with the result that at his instance the order of the French court prohibiting this traffic was renewed. The last glimpse we get of him in life is in the composite picture of the three Seminary priests, Mercier, Gagnon and Laurent, drawn in 1750 by the Jesuit Vivier of Kaskaskia. "Nothing can be more amiable than their character, or more edifying than their conduct. We live with them as if we were members of the same body."³⁸ Father Mercier died at Cahokia, March 30, 1753. Bossu in his "Travels" has devoted a page to an eulogy of this scarcely known figure in the history of missionary enterprise west of the Mississippi.

I have been particularly acquainted with the Abbé Mercier, a Canadian by birth and vicar of the whole country of Illinois. He was a man of probity, whose friendship could not fail of being of use to me by the knowledge he had acquired of the manners of the Indians, who were edified by his virtues and disinterestedness. He spoke the language of the country and on account of the fluency with which he expressed himself in it, he was highly esteemed among the Indians, who consulted him in all matters. He has spent forty-five [?] years in cultivating the Lord's vineyard in these distant countries and the Indian nations have always respected him. A man of his character could not have lived long enough for the happiness of their people. This worthy apostle of Louisiana fell into a consumption in Lent and he died of it one Friday at half an hour after eleven at night expiring as a Christian hero.³⁹

In the summer of 1725, Bourgmund returned to France where in recompense for his services on the Missouri he received from Louis XV a patent of nobility, the king's own heraldic expert devising his coat of arms, *d'azur à un sauvage au naturel, couché sur une montagne d'argent*.

In accordance with instructions previously received,—the Government hoping by this maneuver to impress the Louisiana natives

³⁶ Laval Transcripts, p. 21. Ill. Hist. Survey.

³⁷ Laval Transcripts. Ill. Hist. Survey.

³⁸ *Jesuit Relations*, 69:223.

³⁹ *Travels Through that Part of North America Formerly Called Louisiana by Mr. Bossu, Captain in the French Marines*, London, 1771, 1:159-160.

with the power of France,—Bourgmond conducted from America on this occasion a party of Indians, including Chicagou, chief of the Tamaroa, a Missouri, an Oto, an Osage and a young squaw, the "Princess of the Missouri," who was baptized in Notre Dame. The Indians were presented to the King and the Duchess of Orleans, danced at the Opera and the Theatre Italien, hunted in the Bois de Boulogne, made harangues which were translated into Alexandrines and found that the beruffled and highly perfumed gentlemen coutiers of the Tuileries smelt like alligators.⁴⁰

Though Bourgmond had signalized himself as discoverer of the Upper Missouri, anticipating the La Verendrye brothers by a quarter of a century, there was no one after his departure competent to carry on the work of exploration and the river was thereupon given over to adventurers, traders and *coureurs de bois*. In the same year, 1728, that apparently saw the evacuation of Fort Orleans, the Louisiana Council of the Company of the Indies granted the Canadians Marain and Outlas the sole privilege of the fur trade on the rivers Missouri and Ouabache (Ohio) for five years on condition that they sold only to the Company and delivered at New Orleans.⁴¹

Meantime, the quest of the Western Sea continued to fix attention on the Missouri as the likeliest means of communication with that much sought for body of water. Marquette, discoverer of the Missouri, had, as we saw, hoped to penetrate by its waters to the Gulf of California. Guillaume de L'Isle, outstanding cartographer of the day, expressed a preference for the Missouri to any other route for reaching the Western Sea; and Father Charlevoix reporting in 1723 to the French Government the result of his personal investigation of the problem in an officially undertaken tour through Canada and the Mississippi Valley, also suggested the exploration of the Missouri as one of the two likely solutions he was able to propose.⁴² He was deeply impressed as he stood at its mouth. "I believe this is the finest confluence in the world . . . the Missouri seems to enter the Mississippi like a conqueror." But the French never succeeded in tracing the river to its source. It was only when Lewis and Clark in their epic overland journey of 1804-06 reached the Continental

⁴⁰ Villiers, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 125. Bossu, *op. cit.*, 1:142.

⁴¹ Archives Nationales, *Colonies*, C 13 a 11:154.

⁴² *Conjectures sur l'existence d'une mer dans la partie occidentale du Canada et du Mississippi par G. De l'Isle de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*. This document accompanied by a neatly made map in colors, is in a Ms. volume, *Memoires de Louisiane, etc.*, (p. 147), in the Newberry Library, Chicago. See note 17.

Divide and slipped down on the other side by the Columbia towards the Pacific that the secret of the headwaters of the Missouri and the route to the Western Sea were finally made known to the world.

V

Missionary enterprise in the Missouri region in the French period likewise proved abortive. The Seminary priests of Cahokia never realized their early sanguine expectations of evangelical work in that direction. All they could accomplish was to instruct French traders going up the Missouri to baptize such children in the Indian villages as they found in danger of death. Writing in 1750, as the French regime was drawing to a close, Father Vivier, the Jesuit, tells of the prospect for missionary zeal in that inviting field.

It [the country of the Illinois] spreads through the vast country watered by the Missouri and the rivers that fall into it,—the finest country in the world. How many Savage Nations in these immense regions offer themselves to the Missionary's zeal! They belong to the district of the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions, to whom Monseigneur the Bishop of Quebec allotted them many years ago . . . Among the Nations of the Missouri are some who seem to be especially disposed to receive the Gospel; as, for instance, the Panismahas.⁴³

But the tribes of the Missouri basin had to remain unvisited whether by Seminary priests or Jesuits, though in a *Mémoire sur Louisiane*, one of the many similar documents of the period to be found in the Paris archives, the earnest suggestion is made to the French government that Jesuit missions be established *d'espace en espace* along the Missouri as far as its source, "especially in localities by which the Spaniards can find entrance to this great river. The Jesuits will engage the Indian nations in the interests of the French, etc."⁴⁴ Curiously enough, when the Society of Jesus re-entered Western territory in 1823, after an absence therefrom of half a century, the Federal authorities in Washington assigned to it Council Bluffs on the Missouri as base of operations for its initial missionary effort among the Indians, shrewd John C. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, writing on the occasion to General Clark in St. Louis:

It is believed that the missionaries will, besides preparing the way for their ultimate civilization, be useful in preventing the commission of outrages and preserving peace with the tribes among which they may fix themselves.⁴⁵

Moreover, as we read in a remarkable solemn contract or concordat

⁴³ *Jesuit Relations*, 69:225.

⁴⁴ Arch. Nat., *Colontes*, C 13 a 43:187.

⁴⁵ Calhoun to Clark, March, 1823, St. Louis University Archives.

drawn up in connection with the same significant event, the Catholic ecclesiastical head in the West

cedes and surrenders to the Society of Jesus forever, as soon and in proportion as its increase of members enables it to undertake the same, the absolute and exclusive care of all the missions already established and which shall be hereafter established on the Missouri River and its tributary streams.⁴⁶

A quite amazing and almost fantastic grant of spiritual jurisdiction which the swift expansion of Catholicism west of the Mississippi was promptly to render nugatory.

St. Louis, Missouri.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J., PH. D.

⁴⁶ Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Documents, 1:1022.

RIGHTING HISTORY

THE FITZGERALD-LEE INSTANCE

The patient chisels of Time are slowly but ruthlessly chipping away the names that were carved too hastily on the tall columns of fame and substituting names more worthy. Examples of this phenomenon, although commonplace to the hagiographer, come under observation in the non-miraculous walks of life with sufficient infrequency to impart to the incidents that do occur a singular interest. Here is a case in point.

At Philadelphia, we have just closed the celebration of the heroes and the deeds of 1776. An all-too-small group of able and generous persons multiplied themselves to see that the Catholic actors in the stirring events of that early date should not be overlooked. Despite their intelligent care and devoted labor, the name of John Fitzgerald was not discernable in any of the accounts of the sesqui-centennial commemorations. It might be debated whether any other Catholic of that day—even Charles Carroll of Carrollton—took a larger share in securing nationhood to America and their first enjoyment of enfranchisement to Catholics in the English-speaking world. (Fitzgerald's name is not likely to be overlooked again.)

The Catholic Encyclopedia, in whose manifold excellences we all rejoice, is a worse offender. It properly gives ample space to the Catholic participants in the fruitful deeds of the American Revolution, but it carries no sketch of Fitzgerald. There is not even the slightest reference to him in its copious general index. We there find Moylan and Barry, as well as Taney of later date, whose offspring are lost to the Church, dead therefore to us; and the two Sullivans and the O'Brien brothers, who appear even then to have lost the spiritual connotation of their fine names. Pulaski and Kosciusko, although—save as memories—they no longer enter into American life, are remembered. None of the gallant Frenchmen are forgotten. Fitzgerald—with perhaps Aidan Burke—is the outstanding example of omission. But the inelucatable chisels of Time are suddenly clanging, and attracting many eyes to where the name of John Fitzgerald stands out illustrious; a name that will never again be absent in any honored roster made by such scholarly men as the Philadelphia group or the Catholic encyclopedists.

John Fitzgerald Lee, a scion of John Fitzgerald, has very recently emblazoned that name together with his own on the enduring escut-

cheon of a great Catholic university. The will of John Fitzgerald Lee, Jr., lately inventoried, gives St. Louis University nearly three-quarters of a million dollars. Compared to donations to other institutions by wealthy Americans, this gift might seem meagre; but we must not fail to note that it takes its place among the very few splendid legacies to the cause of Catholic higher education in the United States.

It will need no argument to demonstrate that the benefactor of Catholic education becomes a part of the school he aids. By enabling it to strengthen and enlarge its activities, he makes himself participant in its vitality; the school is thus far himself, still living, still laboring for good. It is interesting in this connection to recall that St. Louis University has kept alive through more than a century the name of a certain Jeremiah Connor, who willed it a small property that it never received; although the municipality of St. Louis which did receive an estate worth millions has forgotten him completely—no park, no school, no street, bears his name. Henceforth, wherever St. Louis University will be known thoroughly, and it is known at present to some extent in every part of the world, there it will be impossible that the name John Fitzgerald should fall into oblivion.

John Fitzgerald Lee is a name that any American institution, and more so, any Catholic American school should be pleased to be privileged to perpetuate; it is so brimful of American historical associations. Richard Henry Lee, a man who was second to no other (save Washington) for his patriotic stand for American Independence, the actual first proponent of the Declaration of Independence, and a signer of that document, was the father of Francis Lightfoot Lee, Jr., who married Jane, daughter of John Fitzgerald. A son and a grandson of this union bore the name John Fitzgerald Lee, Senior and Junior respectively. It was the junior, the great grandson of both John Fitzgerald and of Richard Henry Lee, who has just bestowed such generous largess on St. Louis University, and in the light of whose name those of his sires shine with their proper distinction. Here in outline is the descent:

Richard Henry Lee		John Fitzgerald,
Francis Lightfoot Lee, Jr.,	married	Jane Fitzgerald,
	John Fitzgerald Lee, Sr.,	
	John Fitzgerald Lee, Jr.	

The books are full of Richard Henry Lee, but who was John Fitzgerald? The names of his parents and the date and place of his birth are unknown—items so essential to encyclopedists. But the

silence on these points only enhance the wonder of the man. For it is well known that he was an Irishman and a Catholic who took up his abode in Virginia, when to be a Catholic was to be an outlaw in the Old Dominion and to be an Irishman was synonymous with the wearer of the collar of indenture. But here was an Irish Catholic, who seemed to be nobody from nowhere, and presto! in his presence the Virginians grew superior to their laws, broke the bonds of their social tyranny, and welcomed the stranger to their homes; the most exclusive circles of the old aristocracy courted the friendship of John Fitzgerald.

A neighbor and an intimate friend of Washington before the Revolution, he threw himself with the Father of our Country into that struggle from the outset, and shared the tent, at times the couch, and always the trials of the great commander. A contemporary tells us—and here is a hint of the source of admiration of the Cavaliers for Fitzgerald—that he “was celebrated as one of the finest horsemen in the American Army;” he also informs us that he was Washington’s favorite aide-de-camp. Any aide-de-camp is, of course, a chosen man, selected for his post by his unquestionable reliability, for he shared with his general the most vital secrets of the war. To have been the favorite among this small corps of half a dozen elite indicates extraordinary merit.

The tradition of Alexandria, Virginia, is that Fitzgerald was the organizer of Washington’s life-guard. It is certain that it was first organized in Alexandria, Fitzgerald’s city. He was himself something more than a life-guard of the general. It is remarkable how close he is to Washington whenever treachery is abroad. He was a witness against Benedict Arnold; he was at Washington’s side at Monmouth where General Charles Lee—not of the Virginia family—acted a traitor’s part; he was first to make known to Washington the “Conway Cabal,” which he did with equal caution, tact, and generosity.

Before concluding the story of Fitzgerald, accuracy requires a slight re-statement. It was said above that Richard Henry Lee’s son married Fitzgerald’s daughter; the fact is Francis Lightfoot Lee married two daughters of Fitzgerald; first, Elizabeth, who died childless; and then on February 9, 1810, with dispensation from Archbishop Carroll, he married Jane. In about seven years of wedded life, Jane bore five children, dying when they were all quite small. Although they had all been baptized as Catholics, they were not reared in the faith. One alone of the five, John Fitzgerald Lee, was happy in having chosen as wife a brave woman, Ann Eleanor Hill of

Prince George County, Maryland, and through her the extinguished light of faith was relit in her branch of the family. Should not her name then also have stood at the head of this sketch together with that of her son? That son had no children. But another son, William Hill Lee, it is seen, carries her venerated name, and he transmits it in his family as a precious heirloom.

It remains to say of John Fitzgerald that in peace no less than in war he was the close companion of the Father of Our Country. In Washington's diary his name occurs so often that it would need an actual count to know whether anybody else—outside the family—sat so often at table with the ex-president. There was a curious gathering at Alexandria about the first of July, 1798, when Washington had as guests John Fitzgerald, "L. (most likely Francis Lightfoot, Jr.) Lee," and "Mr. DuBourg, president of Georgetown College." Why were they not granted there on the Potomac a clairvoyant vision of the future city of St. Louis out on the great river of the west, where that Mr. (Bishop) DuBourg is now honored as the founder of the same St. Louis University, of which an offspring of both Mr. Fitzgerald and Mr. L. Lee has just made himself part of the soul.

The chisels of Time ring to the music of laughter. They sometimes mock us, they make egregious errors even after ages of opportunity of righting wrong. But there are no errors on the entablatures of Eternity. There we read that good fruit can come only from a good stock, from a living stock, juicy with garnered sunlight. There we learn that those who—though seemingly dead—still go on performing good deeds are in truth alive in the eternal sunlight; of such are John Fitzgerald, John Fitzgerald Lee, and—Ann Eleanor (Hill) Lee.

JOHN K. LAURENCE.

St. Louis.

HOMESEEKERS IN THE WILDERNESS

The decade or more that followed the Revolutionary War was a period of restlessness and misery among those who had fought its battles, for many men were reduced to penury. At the close of the struggle the army was still unpaid and the country was actually in a state of bankruptcy. The year 1782 showed not a dollar in the treasury of the United States. "Imagine," Morris wrote to Franklin on July 11, 1783, "the situation of a man, who is to direct the finances of a country almost without revenue (for such you perceive this to be), surrounded by creditors, whose distresses while they increase their clamors, render it more difficult to appease them; an army ready to disband and mutiny; a government whose sole authority consists in the power of framing recommendations."¹

Brave hearts, that had stood the hardships and the privations of many grilling encounters in the War for Independence, were undaunted even by this deluge of desolation that now swept in upon them. That struggle in most cases had all the stings of want, cold, and hunger of that terrible winter some of them had experienced earlier at Valley Forge. Involved in debts with the flower of life's days and its budding ambitions seemingly blighted, there was room for discouragement and even despair.

When the main troops of the Revolutionary Army gathered at Newburg on the Hudson, early in 1783 there were growing signs of dissatisfaction. The officers had been promised half pay for life, but nothing had been done by Congress to relieve their distress. The rank and file of the soldiers had not one word about compensation for their services. Patience was finally exhausted, and they sent to Congress a delegation that was not afraid to speak its mind. "We have borne," they said, "all that men can bear—our property is expended—our private resources are at an end, and our friends are wearied out and disgusted with our incessant applications."² These feelings of indignation were fanned into a fierce flame of passion by an anonymous message, circulated at camp on March 10. This was a cunning and dastardly scheme of the enemy to weaken or break down the morale of the American soldiers and to snatch thereby success and victory from defeat, even while peace was being declared.³

¹ Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, Vol. 6, p. 203.

² *Journals of Congress*, Vol. 8, pp. 225-228, April 29, 1783.

³ This dangerous message, skilfully written by the aid-de-camp of General

It was well that Washington grasped the seriousness of the situation and prepared that memorable address, which was a most impressive and soul stirring appeal to the patriotism and generous forbearance of his own men and at the same time a most stinging rebuke to the fiendish conspirators present on the occasion of its delivery, those who tried to plot the ruin of this country by discord, and who would cause to flow again another deluge of blood.⁴ The dramatic scene of the aged General speaking with quiet dignity and kindness to his late comrades in arms melted all to tears. There was born that spirit of solidarity and union, which later brought into existence the Society of Cincinnati.⁵

From that time on there was awakened in the souls of these men a new and strange enthusiasm, a sort of rebirth of energy in both body and mind, a blossoming of new aspirations and new ideals that bore fruit in the migrations of many people from the seaboard states as settlers in the western wilds.

A few days after Washington's speech to his soldiers at Newburg, Mr. Timothy Pichering suggested to a group of army officers there, a plan of frontier settlement, that would be capable of protecting themselves against the attacks of the Indians. Then came another inspiration, the idea of giving Congress the opportunity of offering bounties to the soldiers as payments for military services still owing to the army.

Gates, John Armstrong (see Hatch, *Administration of the Revolutionary Army*, p. 161), is as follows: "Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honor? If you can—go—and carry with you, the jest of Tories and the scorn of Whigs—the ridicule, and what is worse the pity of the world. Go, starve and be forgotten. But if your spirit revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover and spirit enough to oppose tyranny under whatever garb it may assume; whether it be the plain coat of republicanism, or the splendid coat of royalty, if you have learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and principles—awake; attend you to your situation and redress yourselves. If the present moment is lost, every effort is in vain; and your threats then, will be so empty as your entreaties now. In *Journals of Congress*, Vol. 8, pp. 225-238, April 29, 1783. No pen picture of conditions in the Revolutionary Army at the conclusion of the war could have been more correctly and truthfully presented.

⁴ Washington, *Writings* (Ford's edition), Vol. 10, pp. 170-174.

⁵ Brooks, *Henry Knox*, p. 175; see also McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution* in the *American Nation* series, Vol. 10, p. 67.

The scheme amounted practically to the formation of a new state or territory beyond the Ohio.⁶

In June, 1783, an ordinance was introduced into Congress, that had for its purpose the organization of the Northwest. This was the first scheme of systematic and concerted colonization attempted by the newly formed government. The petition for the law, draughted by Rufus Putnam, spoke of dividing the territory into tracts. Congress remained inactive, but in March, 1784, Virginia ceded to Congress a large portion of the unoccupied western lands under its jurisdiction and another ordinance was draughted; this one by Jefferson. This measure prohibited slavery in the new territories after the year 1800. It was this restriction on slaves chiefly that caused the bill to be amended and it was passed without this important provision on April 23, 1784. The law never went into effect.⁷

Another ordinance, the famous one of 1787, made the final regulation for governing the Northwest, but this was not enacted into law until the demands of prospective settlers urged upon Congress the necessity of some definite and suitable action. It was due to the zeal and energy of the retired soldiery of the Atlantic Seaboard, that the way was prepared, and they became the pioneers in colonization in the Middle West.

The first means employed by them to relieve their poverty-stricken condition was a mutual agreement to become home seekers in the wilderness. From this hardy stock of settlers many families in the Central States are descended. At first, there was some apprehension that this migration of the most sturdy elements of the States along the Atlantic coast would work serious injury. In fact Monroe made a trip west; but his superficial observations set the anxious minds of others at rest. "A great part of the territory," he stated on his return, "is miserably poor, especially that near Lakes Michigan and Erie; and that upon the Mississippi and the Illinois consists of extensive plains which have not had, from appearances, and will not have a single bush on them for ages."⁸

We may be sure that the ideas of settlement outlined by Pichering buoyed up the spirits of the soldiers, whose chief thoughts were about

⁶ Pichering, *Pichering*, Vol. 1, p. 457; also pp. 546-549; *Cutler*, pp. 159-174; Buell, *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*, p. 215. Putnam's draught of the petition to Congress spoke of marking out a "tract or territory suitable to form a distinct government in time to be admitted, one of the Confederated States of America."

⁷ *Cutler*, *Cutler*, Vol. 2, pp. 407 et seq. *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. 2, pp. 603 et seq. Randall, *Jefferson*, Vol. 1, pp. 397-399, *Journals of Congress*, April 19, 1784.

⁸ Monroe, *Writings* (Hamilton's Ed.), Vol. 1, p. 177.

their own future condition and that of their families. They hoped by the chance here presented, to repair their broken fortunes. Two hundred and eighty-five officers residing in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Maryland petitioned Congress for the grant of a tract of land whose limits were Lake Erie, State of Pennsylvania, Ohio River, and a meridian drawn just beyond the Scioto River.⁹ Congress again was slow to act and the petition did not bear fruit.

A positive yearning now manifested itself among the military class and nowhere was this more pronounced than in the State of Massachusetts, where one hundred and fifty-five officers were turning their eyes westward to the fertile lands beyond the mountains. In the spring of 1786 steps were taken to form an organization that would push the claims of these war heroes; and to that end a meeting was held at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston where the Ohio Company of Associates was founded with General Rufus Putnam, General Samuel H. Parsons, and Manasseh Cutler as directors. According to the articles of agreement the chief purpose of the company was to purchase lands in the west and to promote settlements.¹⁰ At the conclusion of their deliberations the Company sent Parsons to New York as a delegate to lay their memorial before Congress. The Associates insisted on having their status determined before embarking on this financial enterprise. Cutler was sent as a second delegate in July with full powers to make the purchase in the name of the Company; not in hard cash but in certificates of public indebtedness.¹¹

Congress happened to be considering at the time the regulations for the government of the Northwest Territory; Cutler proposed a bill of rights be added to the ordinance. The six articles provided for, (1) freedom of religion, (2) habeas corpus, bail, rights of property, sacredness of contract, (3) establishment of schools and good faith with the Indians, (4) non-alienation of the territory, just taxation of the inhabitants, non-taxation of State lands and free navigation of waters, (5) arrangement of boundaries for states to be created

⁹ For the history of the Northwest in general consult the following works: *The Life, Journal and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler*, by William Parker Cutler and Julia Perkins Cutler; *The Old Northwest: The Beginning of Our Colonial System*, by Burke Aaron Hinsdale; *The Saint Clair Papers*, by W. H. Smith; *The Winning of the West*, by Theodore Roosevelt; *The Expansion of the American People*, by Edwin Erle Sparks; *The Confederation and the Constitution*, by Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin.

¹⁰ For the Articles of Agreement, see Cutler, *Cutler*, Vol. 1, pp. 181-184.

¹¹ Cutler, *Cutler*, Vol. 1, p. 228.

from the territory, (6) no slavery to be permitted but fugitive slaves to be returned.¹² On July 13, the Ordinance was passed. It is considered to this day one of the most important documents of our history.

The Ohio Company, through a bargain made between Congress and Manasseh Cutler, came into possession of two million acres of land. The property was situated north of the Ohio River and was to extend from the seventh range to the eighteenth range. The Company paid five hundred thousand dollars, but on account of default in later payments, its holdings were cut in half.¹³

Shortly after Cutler's return to Boston, the Ohio Company's eagerness to begin the actual work of settlement was shown in the extensive preparations for the departure of the first group of "colonists." As we follow the Journal of the Associates we cannot help noticing how every detail of travel and settlement were carefully considered and provided for. The minutes are as follows:

A meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company, at Mr. Brackett's Tavern, the 21st of November and continued by adjournment to the twenty second, Resolved;

That the lands of the Ohio Company be allotted and divided in the following manner; anything to the contrary in former resolutions notwithstanding,—viz: Four thousand acres near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers, for a city and commons, and congruous to *this*, one thousand lots of eight acres each amounting to eight thousand acres.

Upon the Ohio, in fractional township, one thousand lots of one hundred and sixteen acres and forty-eight one hundredths, amounting to one hundred and sixteen, thousand four hundred and eighty acres.

In the townships on the navigable rivers, one thousand lots of three hundred and twenty acres, amounting to three hundred and twenty thousand acres, and, in the inland towns, one thousand lots of nine hundred and ninety two thousand acres to be divided and allotted as the agents shall hereafter direct.

That there be the following reservations, viz:

One township at the Falls of the great Hochocking River One township at the mouth of the great or little river of that name, and, One township to the mouth of the great Kanhawa river, which reservations may hereafter be divided and allotted as the Directors and agents shall see fit.

Resolved; That the city at the mouth of the Muskingum river be so laid into oblong squares as that each house lot shall consist of ninety feet in front and one hundred and eighty feet in depth, with an alley of ten feet in width, through each square in its oblong direction; and that the centre street, crossing

¹² The text of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 may be found in *Old South Leaflets*; in *American History Leaflets*; Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*, and Preston's *Documents*.

¹³ *Journals of Congress* (Ed. of 1823), Vol. 4, pp. 17 et seq.; Cutler, *Cutler*, Vol. 1, p. 236.

the city be one hundred and fifty feet wide, anything to the contrary in former resolution notwithstanding.

Resolved; That in addition to the reservations heretofore ordered, there be eight house lots in the city, at the mouth of the Muskingum reserved for public uses.

Resolved; That the army bounty rights, be considered in part payment of the Shares of Military associates, in the ratio of one dollar to every acre to which they are entitled, and that this rule be observed by the agents of the subscribers in rendering their returns, and by the agents appointed by the Directors for the second payment to the board of Treasury.

Resolved; That no further subscriptions be admitted after the first of January next, and that all interest arising upon sums paid since the payment of the first half million to the board of Treasury, until the second payment be completed, shall accrue to the benefit of the Company's funds; and that the agents pay all the monies they may have in their possession into the treasury of the Company, by the first day of March next.

Resolved; That the eight acre lots be surveyed and plan or map thereof be made, with each lot numbered thereon, by the first Wednesday of March next; and that a copy thereof, be immediately forwarded to the secretary and the original retained by the Company's superintendent. That the Agents meet upon the same Wednesday in March at Rice's Tavern in Providence, State of Rhode Island, to draw for said lots in numbers, as the same shall be stated upon the plat. That a list of the draughts be transmitted by the Secretary to the Superintendent and a copy thereof preserved in the Secretary's office.

Resolved; That this meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company be, and it is hereby adjourned to the first Wednesday of March 1788 to be then holden at Rice's Tavern, in the town of Providence and State of Rhode Island.

WINTHROP SARGENT,

Secretary to the Ohio Company.

The session which followed consisted of the Board of Directors alone, and arranged the details of operation. The results of these deliberations are here presented in the words of the Journal of the Company:

At a meeting of the Directors of the Ohio Company, at Mr. Bracketts Tavern, in Boston, November 23, 1787—for the purpose of carrying into effect the surveys, and other business, of the Ohio Company as agreed upon by the Directors and Agents at their meetings of the 29th of August last and the 1st instant.

Ordered;

That four surveyors be employed, under the direction of the Superintendent after named—that twenty two men shall attend the surveyors. That there be added to this number, twenty men, including six boat-builders, four house carpenters, one blacksmith, and nine common workmen.

That the boat-builders shall proceed on Monday next; and that surveyors rendezvous at Hartford, the first day of January next, on their way to Muskingum.

That the boat-builders and men with the surveyors be proprietors in the company—that their tools and one ax and one hoe to each man and thirty pounds

weight of baggage, shall be carried in the company's wagons; and that the subsistence of the men on their journey be furnished by the Company.

That upon their arrival at the places of destination and entering upon the business of their employment, the men shall be subsisted by the Company, and allowed wages at the rate of four dollars (each) per month, until discharged,—That they be held in the Company's service, until the first of July next, unless sooner discharged; and that if any of the persons employed, shall leave the service, or wilfully injure the same, or disobey the orders of the Superintendent or others acting under him; the person so offending shall forfeit all claim to wages.

That their wages shall be paid the next autumn in cash or lands, upon the same terms as the Company purchased them,—That each man furnish himself with a good small arm, bayonet, six flints, a powder horn and pouch, priming wire and brush,—half a pound of powder, one pound of balls, and one pound of buck shot. The men so engaged, shall be subject to the orders of the Superintendent, and those he may appoint as afore said, in all kinds of business they shall be employed in as well for boat-building and surveying as for building houses, erecting defences, clearing land and planting or other-wise for promoting the settlement; and as there is a possibility of interruption from enemies they shall also be subject to orders as aforesaid, in military command, during the time of their employment.

That Col. Ebenezer Sproat from Rhode Island, Mr. Anselm Tupper and Mr. John Matthews from Massachusetts, and Col. R. J. Meigs from Connecticut be the surveyors.

That General Rufus Putnam be the Superintendent of all business aforesaid, and he is to be employed and respected accordingly.

WINTHROP SARGENT,
Secretary to the Ohio Company.

The Secretary calls upon Subscribers to lodge in his office at Boston one of the Certificates which they may have received (for Securities and Specie) entitling them to shares in the funds of the Company agreeably to the Articles of Association.

The efforts of the Ohio Company and its definite plan of action caused almost a stampede for reservations as soon as these deliberations as contained in the Journal were published. Some associates were so eager to get to their new homes, that about a week or so afterwards several of them congregated at the parsonage of Rev. Manasseh Cutler at Ipswich, Massachusetts, and after a joyful demonstration consisting of a parade in front of the house, a sermon by the preacher, and a farewell salute from their guns they took their departure for the Ohio. When they reached Danvers they found twenty workmen and a strong baggage wagon awaiting them and on the back of this truck there was painted in large letters:

FOR THE OHIO AT THE MUSKINGUM¹⁴

Information published from Salem, Massachusetts, on November 20, 1787, seems to show the anxiety and mad rush of many to reach the new country in hopes of procuring the choicest lands, even before the newly made laws had been applied, and before the government had been established.

By a vote of the Ohio Company one hundred settlers are to be sent on to their lands this fall and winter. These settlers are to be supplied with provisions to the settlement, on their arrival at Pittsburg, to be taken in the pay of the Company at four dollars per month, and to continue in pay until May next, the pay of their wages to be in lands—computing their monthly wages to purchase public securities at the rate the company purchased of Congress. Each man must provide himself with a good musket, bayonet, and cartridge box and if they provide an ax and hoe, and mechanics their necessary tools, they will be transported gratis. We hear a number of families will set off from this neighborhood, in a few days to settle on lands of the Ohio Company.

The Ipswich group got as far as the Yougheogheny River, where some of the members of the expedition were seized with smallpox; consequently all were compelled to tarry there until February, when Rufus Putnam with the colony proper arrived. Galleys, ferries, and canoes were here built, and in April they resumed their journey to the Ohio. In another week they came into view of Fort Harmar¹⁵ and with great exultations of joy and happiness they beheld across the Muskingum River the picturesque sites of their future homes.¹⁶

A letter from a gentleman at the new settlement dated July 20, 1788, seems to indicate general satisfaction at the happy prospects offered to the new community and the deep sense of gratification and

¹⁴ Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*, p. 120. See also Cutler, *Cutler*, Vol. 2.

¹⁵ The settlements south of the Ohio in Kentucky and Tennessee began somewhat earlier and were made by courageous and adventurous pioneers by individual choice, at grave personal risks and dangers, for the Indians' forays were of frequent occurrence, and kept those settlers in a constant dread of massacre at the hands of the savages. The settlement lying to the north had the protection of the United States: Fort Steuben was located on the upper Ohio, Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum and Fort Washington between the two Miamis. During the Indian war which followed the opening of the Territory, many other forts were constructed. The country comprised in this portion of the public lands now composes the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi. It contained an area of 265,878 square miles. (See Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*, p. 116.)

¹⁶ *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 139. See also Buell, *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*.

contentment in the midst of toil for the blessings conferred by Providence on this frontier colony. The correspondence is as follows:

We had a beautiful passage down the Ohio from Pittsburgh, in company with three Kentucke (sic) boats, without sails or oars, we glided down the fair river, and in forty eight hours arrived at the enchanting spot.

It is really a delightful situation. The first thing which presented itself, when we ascended the bank by a grand and easy pair of stairs, was a fine level spot covered with huts and tents. Ranging the Muskingum, was a fine bowery¹⁷ where our people celebrated the Fourth of July; an oration was delivered by General Varnum. The day after we arrived was the time appointed by General St. Clair to make his first public appearance.¹⁸ His Excellency came over from the Garrison to this place, escorted by a corps of officers, the Secretary, etc. The Secretary then read the Ordinance of Congress, Governor's commission, the Judge's and his own. The Governor was then congratulated on his arrival at the seat of government; and three cheers closed the ceremony. The Rev. Mr. Breck is here, and this day preached the first sermon ever delivered on the banks of the Muskingum from Exodus, Chap. 19, verses 5 and 6.

At a point on this river opposite Fort Harmar the Ohio Company established one of its first towns. When the directors met on July 2, this place received the name of Marietta in honor of Marie Antoinette—a compound of the first and last syllables. Almost as soon as Marietta received its name there appeared in a Boston paper a news item which read as follows:

Joseph May, Esq. of Boston, has presented a bell to the Ohio Company for the first public building to be erected in the territory of the Company, and such building¹⁹ having been ordered by the Agents the Directors are to take measures of transporting the bell from Boston to the city of Marietta.

Accounts from the city of Marietta say that within twelve months past more than ten thousand emigrants have passed that place to Kentucky and other parts on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The greater part of these were not owners of any lands in the countries to which they migrated, but expected to be purchasers; and many of them would have become settlers on the Ohio Company's tracts had the arrangements of the Company been so far completed as to hold out the necessary encouragement to them.

About the same time as the first settlements of the Ohio Company were in progress, the inhabitants of the west, both Indian and white,

¹⁷ A temporary place of assembling was constructed of felled trees and branches and called "The Bower."

¹⁸ See *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. 1.

¹⁹ It is likely that the building here referred to, was the Campus Martius, the Stockade occupied by the first Governor of the Northwest Territory, General St. Clair, and by some of the pioneers of Ohio during the Indian war that broke out shortly after the settlements were made. It served as a fortification, town hall, court house, etc., and was located on a glacia about two hundred yards from the river bank.

began to see the advantages of opening trade relations along the great waterways. An excerpt of a letter from a gentleman in the western country to his friend in Philadelphia presents the great possibilities of commerce, and actually shows that plans of operation were under consideration by wide-awake citizens.

Last fall the Chickasaws sent a certain Capt. Thompson, one of their chiefs, to the Falls of the Ohio, to express the sentiments of their Nation, and of their friends and allies the Choctaws respecting trade and commerce which they wished to establish with the inhabitants of this country. The place they propose for carrying on the trade at the Chickasaw Bluffs; which is high ground on the east side of the Mississippi River, about three hundred miles below the mouth of the Ohio and about six hundred miles from Orleans. He said that the Spaniards had solicited their trade, and offered to supply them with goods, if they would go to war with the Americans, but that they detested the proposal, and had sent him to know our minds, and would form no connection with the Spaniards, if they could have trade with us to afford them a supply, otherwise their necessities would oblige them to trade with the Spaniards. He also made an offer of five miles square at the Bluffs, to the company that might go down to establish a trade there.—In consequence of the above message and overture by the Indian plenipotentiary, some boats have already gone down to the Bluffs, and several families propose going to settle there, and if it is true, as it is said, that the State of Georgia has agreed to confirm whatever cessions of land the Indians may make in these parts, this will give great encouragement. It is proposed to lay out a town at the Bluffs, and as this is near Natchez, which is the boundary between the Spaniards and us on the Mississippi, and is the only situation for a town except the Natchez, from the mouth of the Mississippi to six hundred miles farther up, may we not conclude that it will be a very advantageous seat for trade with the Spaniards, who have for many years carried on a considerable trade to a distance of six hundred miles farther up the river, purchasing the produce at near three or four hundred per cent higher than we can afford it to them at the Bluffs; which it is reasonable to expect will induce the Orleans traders and merchants to stop here, and if so, I make no doubt but that we shall, in a short time, have a flourishing trade there, especially as the Spanish and French inhabitants of the Mississippi being acquainted with the navigation of that river from their infancy, will, without much difficulty, bring vessels of a considerable burthen so far up.—A country is expected to be laid off in those parts very soon, by order of the state; and the land is said to be amazingly rich, and situated on the head waters of several fine rivers which empty into the southern lakes and Atlantic Ocean, will afford the inhabitants a communication with the West Indies, or any other part. There is also reason to believe that the difficulties that might be apprehended from the Indians possessing that part of the country, will not be great, or of long continuance as there is now the fairest opportunity of promoting civilization among them. Their country is greatly thinned of deer etc., a number of wealthy families among them have convinced them in a great measure of the advantages the white people enjoy; to support their families, to build commodious houses, plant orchards, and raise large stocks of black cattle, hogs, etc.; they are in general well disposed, especially the Chickasaws, and earnestly wish to have mechanics among them. A number of old ones most probably will retain their attachment to hunting, and

a wandering indolent life; but there is great reason to hope that the young ones might be brought to a more regular way, were proper pains taken; and to effect this, the most probable means seem to be, to establish a generous trade with them, entirely prohibiting spiritous liquors so baneful, not only to Indians, but even to many of the white people, who ought by the possession of Christianity and the superior advantages they enjoy to be more exemplary in their conduct. Establishing schools among them might also contribute to their civilization and prepare the way for their embracing the Gospel, the powerful influence of which has been evidenced with happy effects on those nations, which now constitute the enlightened and highly improved part of the world. And when we consider that these Indians are able to send ten thousand warriors into a field, as it is said, they readily can, it is certainly a matter of no small moment to cultivate their friendship though still a matter of much greater importance to endeavor to spread amongst them the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, which, has hitherto alas! been lamentably too much neglected.

But there is another side of frontier history that presents a gruesome aspect in the lives of these brave pioneers in the wilderness if we are to judge from certain letters sent to friends in the East. A gentleman in writing at the Muskingum Settlement on June 14, 1788, related the following experience:

On the 12th inst. a party of Indians, the number uncertain, attacked the guard posted for the protection of the stores and goods lately sent to Muskingum for the treaty, killed two of the guards, a mulatto servant of Mr. Dunker, one other guard is badly wounded and two missing, but whether taken or not is uncertain. One Indian was left dead on the ground and it is supposed that several were wounded. About an hour after the attack a number of the Delaware tribe came into the guard with their wives and children; they say the dead Indian is a Tawawa or Chippewa.—This is the substance of the officer's letter to General Harmar:

“The place, where the goods were, is between seventy and eighty miles up the river, on the west side. The guard consisted of thirty men under the command of Lieutenant McDole; it is about three weeks since they were sent up to build the Council House or Bower, and cellars to secure the goods from the weather; for the Indians having complained that we did not meet them on equal ground, the commissioners had determined for once, to try their good faith, and meet them without the protection of a military force; and as the treaty was to be held by the special request of the Indians, there could be no reason to expect an attack of the fort. Nor is it believed to be done by the approbation of the Indians in general; but on the contrary, it is supposed to be a party of lawless wretches, who are outcasts from their own tribes, and who have associated together for the purposes of mischief. But be this as it may it is such a piece of business as will prevent the treaty being held until satisfaction is demanded for so gross an insult.²⁰ In the meantime the goods are ordered down to this place, and boats set off last evening for that purpose.

²⁰ As St. Clair was making preparations for this treaty with several tribes of Indians to be held at Muskingum, the Chippewas from the Upper Lakes attacked the guards that were sent to escort the Indians to the place of meeting, who

“What will be the consequence no man can tell—however my opinion is, that the issue will be to our advantage; for on the one hand, if government behave with that firmness and dignity which they ought; the culprits will be delivered up to punishment, or an Indian war ensue; if the first is done the savages will be more careful how they offend in time to come. If the latter takes place there is every human probability to believe it will end in the destruction and expulsion of them in such manner as that none shall be left to make us afraid.

“Governor St. Clair arrived here last Wednesday.”

A letter from an officer at the Rapids of the Ohio to a gentleman in Philadelphia dated August 25, shows that the Indian attacks were becoming more frequent and serious. He said:

I have the pleasure to inform you, our troops from the Miami arrived on the 15th inst. and yesterday we began the hut—in about one month I presume we will complete our building and finish our stockade. A few days since, some horses were stolen from the neighboring inhabitants, but whether the Indians or a party of negroes, who ran away about that time, is not ascertained; the former however bear the blame. On the tenth of next month Clarke marches into the Indian country with a powerful army; he proceeds immediately to their towns, which he intends to lay in ashes, destroy their corn, kill and scalp as many as he may conquer.

This scourge they justly deserve, for immediately after and at the time of the treaty held at the Miami²¹ they killed and plundered the inhabitants. The settlers of Kentucky have lost upwards of five hundred horses during the summer—Should this expedition be crowned with success, it will give peace to our frontiers for this year at least and put a total stop to treaties²² hereafter which it seems have answered no other purpose than that of spending public money and serving the private purposes of a few designing men.

charged them with their sharp spears and inflicted severe injuries on the unsuspecting soldiers who immediately returned the attack, driving the Indians back and repulsing them completely. The Chippewas recovered all their dead warriors except one. They marched home with them scalps of the soldiers they had slain, and one other captive American. At the mouth of Lake Michigan near Mackinaw, they surrounded the British guard and twelve soldiers stationed there because of their vastly superior numbers. The officer and his men broke through the Indians to safety, at the same time rescuing the captive American whom he sent back home to the Ohio settlement. See *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. 2, p. 50; *State Department Documents*, Vol. 3, No. 150—William Wilson and James Rinkin to Richard Butler, Aug. 4, 1788; Wilson and Rinkin to St. Clair, Aug. 31, 1788; Rinkin to Butler, July 2, 1788; St. Clair to Knox, Sept. 4, 1788.

²¹ See *Among the Indian Chiefs at the Great Miami*, by the author in the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 215-232.

²² Most of the treaties came to naught. The Indians as a whole either refused to treat with the American authorities or delayed, or repudiated actions formerly accepted as final. Then there were clashes between National and State authorities. Independent agreements which only intensified difficulties can be cited without number. See *State Department Documents*, Wilson and Rinkin to St. Clair, July 29, 1788.

When the Ordinance of 1787 was enacted provision was also made for the French people farther west who had acquired lands and had built homes prior to the Peace of Paris that had closed the Revolutionary War in 1783. With the coming of the Associates came also many adventurers and homeseekers who squatted on desirable tracts in this vicinity but they had no deeds to the property acquired by them in this way. Cahokia, a mission and a trading post founded in La Salle's time (1683) and Kaskaskia founded by Marquette in 1673 and consisting of some seventy houses with Mission of the Immaculate Conception in the midst, and Post Vincennes were the principal centers of the French population. Here the Indians and their neighbors lived in quiet harmony due in large measure to the civilizing influence of the Catholic religion and to the labors and sacrifices of zealous and kind missionaries.

Conditions were not so ideal when the land grabbers made their appearance and General Harmar was sent to the Illinois country to warn these insolent invaders to secure titles elsewhere and to evacuate this portion of the Territory immediately.²³

The male population, principally the heads of families, numbered five hundred and twenty men at Vincennes; one hundred and ninety men at Kaskaskia, and two hundred and thirty-nine at Cahokia. There were other French families thinly scattered throughout the country outside the villages and it is estimated that in all these out-post settlements there were about four thousand five hundred people.²⁴

The American settlers who came into the French district since the Clark expedition of 1786 were considerable; they numbered two hundred and forty adult males as against ten hundred and forty French of the same class.²⁵ So troublesome were some of these newcomers that both the Creoles and the Indians became so exasperated that they sent petitions to Congress setting forth their grievances. They had frequently provisioned the garrisons but had received not one dollar of pay. The militia spent much of their time in rioting and other excesses. They respected not the live stock of their neighbors and wantonly shot down cattle as a diversion to try their marksmanship. The French sought from Congress a definite grant of land amounting to five hundred acres so they might have a legal title to show when squatters encroached on their lands.²⁶

²³ *State Dept. Documents*, Vol. 2, No. 150, Harmar to Le Grasse and Busseron, June 29, 1787.

²⁴ *State Dept. Documents*, No. 48, p. 165.

²⁵ *State Dept. Documents*, No. 48, p. 165.

²⁶ *State Dept. Documents*, No. 48, Memorial of the French inhabitants of Post

In answer to these memorials General Harmar took possession of Vincennes and the Illinois towns. He sided with the French and Indians, and bitterly denounced the frontiersmen who were causing all the trouble. The garrison previously manned by Clark at Vincennes was regarded by Harmar as "a set of lawless banditti." The correct judgment and favorable attitude of the General greatly pleased the French and they expressed their gratitude in several letters; on the other hand the Americans were filled with "anxiety, gloom and dismay." They protested against the withdrawal of their property rights, saying that they had settled on the disputed lands in good faith and frequently with the approval of the French villagers themselves. When questioned on these points closely, the Creoles bore testimony in favor of the American frontiersmen.²⁷ Finally harmony was established, the French retained their ancient rights and privileges and the Americans received regular grants of land and became more amenable to the law when settlements became numerous. This harmony was created not from choice but from necessity.

The Indians everywhere in the face of the on-coming hordes grew daily more and more uncontrollable and treacherous. They dogged every party of homeseekers that came near their haunts. The war bands filled the forests day and night. They hid in the thickets and behind huge trees along the Ohio River and shot down the unsuspecting traveller on their way to their peaceful abodes in the wilderness or even killed the soldiery on guard when not outnumbered. Many a frontiersman was killed trying to protect his home and property by the cruel blood thirsty savages in ambush.

"The books of the annalists," says Roosevelt, "are filled with tales of disaster and retribution, of horrible suffering and of fierce prowess. Countless stories are told of heroic service and panic rout; of midnight assaults on lonely cabins, and ambush of heavy laden immigrant scows; of the death of brave men and cowards, and the dreadful butchery of women and children; of bloody raids and revengeful counter stroke."

In the wars of the savages in the Ohio country the Associates and others met a strong foe that tried their hearts of steel and not until the hostile spirit of the Indians was broken and vanquished by the

Vincennes, Kaskaskia, La Prairie du Rocher, Cahokia and the Village of St. Philip to Congress, by Tardiveau, New York, Feb. 26, 1788.

²⁷ *State Dept. Documents*, Vol. 2, No. 150. Address of American inhabitants of Vincennes, August, 4, 1797; Recommendation by French inhabitants in favor of American inhabitants, August 2; Letter of Le Chamy and others; Kaskaskia, August 25; Letter of J. M. P. Le Gras, June 25.

generalship of Mad Anthony Wayne some years afterwards, were the inhabitants of these lands secure in the possession of that vast and fertile region of the Middle West that now constitutes the heart of the American Republic.

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Note.—Several of the documents quoted at length are taken from letters and other authoritative information appearing in the newspapers of New York, Philadelphia and Boston and their vicinities between 1784-1789. See fuller note as to origin in the January, 1926, issue of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. viii., number 3.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT ON THE SITE OF ST. LOUIS*

In the recorded story of St. Louis four outstanding facts are written across the opening page, each making instant appeal to the historical imagination.

First, on or about July 4, 1673, James Marquette and Louis Joliet, fresh from their epoch-making discovery of the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien, glided in their frail canoes past the limestone bluff on which St. Louis was to rise in later years. Their eyes, eager to catch the physical features of either bank, rested no doubt at intervals on the terrain of the future city, which on this occasion made its first recorded acquaintance, however passing, with civilized man. Secondly, on December 7, 1698, the chevalier, Henri de Tonti, La Salle's gallant lieutenant and a foremost figure in the story of Western exploration, having come down from Quebec with a party of missionaries, set foot somewhere within the limits of present-day St. Louis, probably at or near the foot of Arsenal Street. On the morrow, December 8, the three missionary-priests, all of the Society of Foreign Missions of Quebec, their names, de Montigny, Davion and St. Cosme, celebrated mass, after which the party moved across the river to negotiate with the Tamaroa Indians for the planting of a Christian mission in their village, the Cahokia of later days. The incident of the religious services of December 8, 1698, the earliest known to have taken place on ground now occupied by the metropolis of the Southwest, has been put on record by one of the participants, St. Cosme, in his letter of January 2, 1699, a classic in the literature of early Western travel.

Thirdly, some time in the closing months of 1700 the Kaskaskia Indians, having abandoned their village on the Illinois River, where Marquette had set up among them his mission of the Immaculate Conception, the earliest outpost of Christian civilization in the Mississippi Valley, found a new home at the mouth of the Des Peres River, the southern boundary of St. Louis. Certain documentary

* Practically all available information regarding the course of events in the Des Peres village is to be found in the letters of the Reverend Mr. Marc Bergier, of the Seminary of Quebec, pastor at Cahokia from 1700 to his death. For access to this valuable correspondence the writer is indebted to the very great courtesy of the Right Rev. Mgr. A. E. Gosselin, P. A., Archivist and one-time Rector of Laval University, Quebec.

indications point to this settlement having been made on the north side of the river, in a locality therefore, within the present limits of the city. Here then through some two years and a half, the historic Kaskaskia Mission was maintained, Indians and French living side by side and sharing the religious ministrations of Jesuit missionaries.

Fourthly, on February 14, 1764, Auguste Chouteau, under a commission from Pierre Liguette Laclède, author of the project, landed with a party of Frenchmen at or in the immediate neighborhood of what is now the foot of Walnut Street in St. Louis, and proceeded at once to lay out a trading-post, with all the conventional adjuncts of a French colonial settlement of the period. It was the actual historical beginning of St. Louis of today, nor does any previous occupation of the site by white men prejudice the claim made for Laclède and his youthful lieutenant that they are the city's authentic and indisputable founders.

Of these four capital historical landmarks that lead up to the municipal origins of St. Louis, the third will engage our attention for the moment as being a recent addition of fascinating import to the city's previously recorded history. Moses Austin, in a memoir of his Western travels of 1796-97 noted the local tradition of a mission or settlement in the neighborhood of the Des Peres, "the Fathers' River." However, Houck's History of Missouri, the classic authority on the subject, appearing as late as 1908, could present no direct evidence confirmatory of the tradition. It was only in 1919 that the missing documentary evidence was supplied by Professor Laurence J. Kenny, S. J., in a searching monograph devoted to the problem.¹ Since then further researches in the Quebec archives and elsewhere have thrown additional light on the Des Peres River settlement which now emerges from the mists of mere tradition into the clear atmosphere of ascertained historical fact. As to the documentary evidence brought to bear upon the problem, no attempt can be made to set it forth in this brief contribution. Substantially, this evidence is derived from two main sources: (1) Certain contemporary letters disclosing the existence of a French-Indian village two leagues below Cahokia on the opposite side of the Mississippi; and, (2) contemporary maps in the National Library of Paris, notably De Lisle's of 1703.

In the spring of 1699, the Sieur d' Iberville, having opened a direct route from France to the Mississippi, established at Biloxi, near

¹ *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, April, 1919.

the mouth of the great waterway, the first French post in Lower Louisiana. It was apparently this event that tempted the Kaskaskia of the Illinois River to move south in the hope presumably of finding there military protection from their enemies. Father James Gravier, Superior of the Jesuit Missions of the Illinois, on his way from Chicago to the mouth of the Mississippi, arrived among the Kaskaskia in the mid-September of 1700, to late, as he writes, to prevent the Indians' departure. Together with Father Gabriel Marest, resident Jesuit pastor of the tribe, Father Gravier journeyed with the Kaskaskia for four days, after which the two missionaries went on ahead to the Tamaroa village on the site of the present Cahokia. Here Father Marest, who had fallen sick, remained, while Father Gravier, on October 8, pursued his journey south. Later, most probably before the end of 1700, the Kaskaskia, moving down the Mississippi, decided to halt at the outlet of the Des Peres River and there take up at least a temporary residence. A fort was built and many of the French residents of the Tamaroa village hastened over to throw in their lot with the new settlement. Father Marest resumed his functions as pastor of the Kaskaskia Indians, and, except for a missionary excursion or two to Peoria, remained with them until their departure from the Des Peres. Later came Fathers John Bori and Francis Pinet. A lay-helper, Brother Francis Guibert, was also on the missionary-staff. On leaving Chicago early in 1700, Father Pinet had first settled in Cahokia, where he ministered with great success to the Indians. Then, on or about June 15, 1702, he shifted his residence to the Des Peres village under the circumstances we shall narrate.

By a grant of powers from the Bishop of Quebec the Jesuit missionaries had been authorized to evangelize the Illinois tribes, among which were generally classed the Tamaroa and Cahokia. However, this grant, at least as far as it concerned the Tamaroa, was apparently annulled by a concession of similar tenor issued at a later date by the Bishop of Quebec in favor of the Seminary priests (Society of the Foreign Missions of Quebec). The Jesuits made bold to question the legality or at least propriety of the procedure and appealed for a decision to the French King, Louis XIV. A far cry indeed from the heart of the American wilderness to the gilded splendors of Versailles. Later, however, the Jesuit superiors in Paris withdrew their protest and instructed their missionaries in distant Cahokia to retire from that field of labor.

On June 10, 1702, a thrill of excitement ran through the Des Peres village as a flotilla of ten canoes, which had come up from the

Gulf of Mexico, put in at the river bank. In the party of Frenchmen was Father Gravier, who brought with him in the Paris mail the long awaited instructions on the vexed question of Cahokia. Father Pinet was at once summoned from the other side of the river and told to give up his work among the Indians in that quarter. This he promptly did. He called a meeting of his Indian converts, at which he invited Father Bergier, the Seminary priest, to be present, and in a stirring address urged them to follow faithfully the lead of their new pastor. Then followed a feast, after which Father Pinet delivered the church records to his successor and departed for the Des Peres, the day being approximately June 14, 1702.

One would gladly follow the course of events in the French-Indian village on the Missouri side; but the incidents of its recorded history are lamentably few. Father Borie set out from there in the summer of 1701 on a missionary excursion to the Sioux of the Upper Mississippi. The explorer Le Sueur had furnished the funds. But Borie's canoe was wrecked some fifty miles up the river and he returned to the Des Peres without attempting again to reach the Upper Mississippi. Father Marest also planned a Sioux excursion which likewise proved abortive; and he hoped to accompany in the capacity of chaplain d'Iberville's gold-seekers on their proposed expedition to the Spanish Southwest. Letters from his pen, it may be noted, went out at intervals from the Des Peres to distant Paris. Two of these may still be read, the earliest correspondence that we know of as issuing from the territory which has since become Missouri.

Perhaps the incident that looms largest in the meagre chronicles of our almost prehistoric village was the desertion to it of a part of the Tamaroa Indians. Rouensa, the Kaskaskia chief, offered every inducement to the Tamaroa and Cahokia to move across the river to his new settlement. Presents were not wanting, five hundred pounds of powder and "a cask when the French shall have come up from the sea." Father Bergier, to hold his Indians, had to lay before them counter-attractions, "a kettle, four pounds of powder, a pound of colored glass-beads, four boxes of vermilion and a dozen knives." Long Neck, the Tamaroa chief, set before his people the charms of the Kaskaskia village, which had won for itself among the Indians the alluring soubriquet of "The Land of Life." On the other hand Chickagoua, another Tamaroa chief, showed himself indifferent on the question of the hour and declared it was all one to him whether his tribesmen went or stayed. In the end only a third of the Tamaroa, some twelve cabins, with their chief, presumably Long Neck,

moved to the Des Peres. A much larger number had no doubt been expected, as one day in April, 1701, Rouensa sent as many as twenty-three pirogues to bring the Indians over from Cahokia. Whether the rest of the tribe eventually followed the third that migrated cannot be ascertained. At all events, it is significant that an unpublished map in the National Library, Paris, indicates the Tamaroa village as being at this period on the west side of the Mississippi below Cahokia.

The Indian chapel at the mouth of the Des Peres was the first house of worship erected within the limits of Missouri. Its pastors, Fathers Pinet and Marest, are fascinating figures in that very fascinating period of Mississippi valley history, the French occupation. At Mackinac, Pinet had incurred the displeasure of the irascible Codillac by denouncing roundly from the pulpit the traffic in strong drink and the resulting ruin to his Indian flock. At Chicago in or about 1696 he set up for his Miami converts the first chapel in the history of the city, on a site probably just outside the loop-district at the fork of the river. At Cahokia his chapel was taxed beyond capacity by the number of natives that came to the services, for on the testimony of his successor at that post, Father Bergier, he spoke the Indian language perfectly, and better than the Indians themselves. Father Pinet died at the Des Peres village August 1, 1702, the funeral services being conducted by Father Bergier.

Father Gabriel Marest began his missionary career in the Hudson Bay region where he was taken prisoner by the English and carried to England. On his release from Plymouth, at the conclusion of a treaty between the English and French, he returned to the New World where he devoted the rest of his days to service among the Kaskaskia Indians. He was with them in their three successive settlements on the Illinois, the Des Peres and the Kaskaskia Rivers. To this last home of their he accompanied them in the spring of 1703. For this is the date we must assign to the passing of the French-Indian village at the Des Peres. With the migration of the Indians and their pastor further south, the French settlers also apparently moved away and in no long time every vestige of the settlement had utterly disappeared. There survived only a dim memory of it, lasting down the years as a vague tradition which research has only recently verified and placed on a basis of actual fact.

In the month of November, 1925, the municipality of Chicago set up commemorative tablets on the pylons at either end of the majestic boulevard bridge that spans the river at a point not far from the probable site of Father Pinet's historic chapel of two and a quarter

centuries ago. One tablet bears the names of Marquette and Jolliet; the other, those of LaSalle and De Tonti. With these same names, St. Louis has associations also, though in less significant ways than Chicago. When shall we rear fitting memorials to these and other outstanding figures that lend the glamor of their imperishable careers to the dawn of our municipal history? For the ground we daily tread stood, not aside from, but mid-stream in the currents of high adventure and romantic achievement that flowed with surprising volume through the Valley of the Mississippi in the days of the fleur-de-lis.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

St. Louis University.

MARQUETTE'S BURIAL SITE LOCATED

A thorough examination of all the evidence available makes it certain that Father Marquette died at the mouth of the Pere Marquette River near the present city of Ludington, Michigan.

The evidence is found in history, cartography, tradition and personal observation of local landmarks. But while searching the evidence for the above conclusion one is forced to conclude further that the mouth of the Pere Marquette River is not now (1926) where it was when Marquette died in 1675. I think, however, that sufficient data has been assembled here to reveal the old river channel of 1675; and approximately, too, the exact spot where Marquette died near the river's mouth.

Of all the history bearing on the subject the oldest and most reliable is the contemporary account of Marquette's death given by his religious superior, Father Claude Dablon, S. J., in the *Jesuit Relations*. I quote from the *Relations*, omitting those parts that are irrelevant:

JESUIT RELATIONS CONTAIN ACCOUNT OF PRIEST'S DEATH

"Thus did he (Marquette) converse with them (his two French companions) as they made their way upon the Lake (Michigan) until having perceived a river, on the shore of which stood an eminence that he deemed well suited to be the place of his interment, he told them that that was the place of his last repose. They wished, however, to proceed farther, as the weather was favorable, and the day was not far advanced; but God raised a contrary wind, which compelled them to return and enter the river which the father had pointed out. They accordingly brought him to the land, lighted a little fire, and prepared for him a wretched cabin of bark. They laid him down therein in the least uncomfortable way they could—and the father being thus stretched on the ground in much the same way as was St. Francis Xavier, with a countenance beaming and all aglow, expired without any struggle."

If I had nothing more than this contemporary narrative in the text of the *Relations* we might search in vain for the place where Marquette died. For on the west shore of the lower peninsula of Michigan there are many rivers flowing into the lake. And at the mouths of the most of them are quiet harbors which would tempt the dying boatman to seek therein his "last repose." But in the old

Relations manuscript there is a marginal note which says that the river near which Marquette died "now bears the father's name." And Reuben Gold Thwaites, who compiled and edited the *Jesuit Relations* in seventy-two volumes, explains in a footnote to the *Relation* narrative that the river bank on which Marquette died was near the "mouth of the Marquette River, near the site of the present city of Ludington."

WRITINGS OF CHARLEVOIX GIVE SPECIFIC INFORMATION

Forty-six years after the death of Marquette another important record of that event was written by a well known Jesuit priest and historian, Father Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, S. J. Charlevoix was sent to America in 1720 by the French king, Louis XV, to gather materials for a history of New France. He has left two accounts of Marquette's death; one in his *Journal* written in 1721; and the other in his *History of New France* which appeared in 1744. Both accounts may be considered as of 1721, for it was in that year that the author visited the death scene of Marquette and gathered his information about it. The account given in the *History of New France* was written twenty-three years after the other, but we will consider it first because it is brief and need not detain us long. The *History of New France* was translated into English by John G. Shea, a century and a quarter after the appearance of the French original. In Shea's translation the reference to Marquette's death is rendered thus: "Sinking rapidly he died May 18, 1675, while endeavoring to reach Michilimackinac. His comrades buried him at the lake shore, at the mouth of a river, which thenceforth took his name." In a footnote to this brief narrative Shea cautions the reader against the inaccuracies of Charlevoix here and in his *Journal*. He blames the French Jesuit for trusting too much to tradition and "neglecting the archives of his order in Quebec, Paris and Rome."

—Et idem

Indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus;
At opere longo fas est obrepere somnum.

There are inaccuracies in Charlevoix enough to justify the censures of the "Father of American Catholic History." But the words quoted above are remarkably accurate. The French author even gives the correct date of Marquette's death, a detail which is confused in the text of the *Relations*. And we are grateful to Charlevoix for those other words: "His comrades buried him by the lake shore, at the mouth of a river which thenceforth took his name."

But in his *Journal of a Voyage to America*, written in 1721, twenty-three years before the *History of New France*, Charlevoix has left a much more detailed account of the circumstances of Marquette's death. In the passage which I shall quote the French Jesuit is sailing southward along the eastern coast of Lake Michigan from Michilimackinac to the St. Joseph River at the southeastern shore of the lake. He lands here and there for rest and observation.

Anyone who has even a passing acquaintance with the eastern shore of Lake Michigan—its sand dunes, harbors, lakes, and rivers as they are today will find a charming simplicity and accuracy in these descriptions of Charlevoix penned over two hundred years ago. Though the passage is lengthy I shall quote it fully for it has a most important bearing upon our subject. But as I shall omit the irrelevant portions I would urge the reader to study the entire twenty-second letter of Charlevoix in the second volume of Kellogg's translation from which I quote:

“On the first of August (1721) I left on my right the Beaver Islands, and some leagues farther on the left I perceived, on a sandy eminence, a kind of grove or thicket which when you are abreast of it has the figure of an animal lying down. The French call this the Sleeping and the Indians the Crouching Bear. I advanced twenty leagues this day. On the third day of August I entered the river of Father Marquette in order to examine whether what I had been told of it was true. This is, at first entering it, no more than a brook; but fifteen paces higher you enter a lake which is near two leagues in circuit. In order to make way for its discharge into Lake Michigan one would imagine that a great hummock which you leave on the left as you enter, had been dug through; and on the right the coast is very low for the space of a good musket shot; afterwards all of a sudden it rises to a very great height. It had actually been represented to me as such, and on that head the following is the constant tradition of all our travelers, and what ancient missionaries have told me.

“As he was going from Chicagu, to Michilimackinac, he entered, on the 18th day of May, 1675, the river in question, the mouth of which was then at the extremity of the low ground which I have already taken notice you leave on the right hand as you enter.

ACCOUNT OF DEATH

“Here he erected his altar and said Mass. He went afterwards to a small distance in order to render thanks, and begged the two men that conducted his canoe to leave him alone for half an hour. This

time having passed they went to seek him and were surprised to find him dead. They call to mind, however, that on entering the river he had let drop an expression that he should end his days at this place. However, as it was too far to carry his body from thence to Michilimackinac, they buried him near the bank of the river which from that time has retired by degrees, as out of respect to his remains, as far as the cape, the foot of which it now washes, and where it has opened for itself a new passage.

"I have not been able to learn, or else I have forgot, the name this river formerly bore, but at this day the Indians always call it the River of the Black Robe, for thus the Indians term the Jesuits. The French call this river Father Marquette's river, and never fail to call upon him when they are in any danger on Lake Michigan. Several of them have affirmed that they believed themselves indebted to his intercession for having escaped very great dangers."

In these words of Father Charlevoix we have the solution of many doubts that have haunted the death scene of Father Marquette for two centuries and a half. We shall refer to the quotation again and again.

But now we would remove all doubt from the assertion that Marquette died at the mouth of the Pere Marquette River near the present city of Ludington, Michigan. It must be remembered that like Father Marquette, Charlevoix was a French Jesuit. He wrote his *Journal* during this voyage in 1721, forty-six years after the death of Marquette. Charlevoix was then thirty-nine years old and he must have spoken in France and America with some of those who had labored with Marquette in the Canadian Missions. In fact, he says that, in that year, 1721, he entered the river of West Michigan, then called after Father Marquette, "in order to examine whether what he had been told of it was true." And, again, he speaks familiarly of "The constant tradition of all our travelers and what ancient missionaries have told me."

JESUIT MAKES TOUR

Precious indeed is the evidences of such a Jesuit priest and historian written forty-six years after the death of Marquette upon entering the Marquette River "in order to examine whether what he had been told of it was true." He sailed for two days, he says, a distance of over twenty leagues southward from the promontary called Sleeping Bear, before reaching the mouth of the Marquette River. That is the exact distance from the Sleeping Bear Point to Ludington, about seventy miles.

Describing the mouth of the Pere Marquette River, Charlevoix says there was a "great hummock" to the left as you enter, and on the right the coast is very low for the space of a good musket shot; and afterwards all of a sudden it rises to a very great height." These landmarks given by Charlevoix may be verified by anyone who visits the Pere Marquette River today. We were at Ludington on December 11, 1926, and can testify that the hummock and the high bluff rising abruptly, are still there; and between them is the low sandbar "for the space of a good musket shot" from the old rifle of 1721. Again Charlevoix says that about fifteen paces up the river from its mouth "you enter a lake which is near two leagues in circuit."

The distance from the river's mouth to the inner lake could not have been more than fifteen paces in 1721, though now it is over 1,200 feet owing to the widening of the sandbar by deposits brought in by the waves of Lake Michigan from the west and by the current of Pere Marquette lake and river from the east.

The dimensions of the inner lake as given by Charlevoix, "nearly two leagues in circuit," are correct approximately even now. And a history of Mason County, Michigan, published in 1882, says that Pere Marquette lake is two miles long and about three-quarters of a mile wide.

These two records of the death scene of Father Marquette, one written by Dablon in the *Jesuit Relations*, and the other in Charlevoix's *Journal*, are the two prime sources of our information on this topic. Too much importance cannot be given to the account in the *Relations*. It was written at the time of Marquette's death, and by Marquette's religious superior, who got his details from the two Frenchmen who had accompanied Marquette on his last voyage, attended him at his death, and then made their repora at Michilimackinac and finally at Quebec. It is much to be regretted, however, that the contemporary narrative of Father Dablon is not more detailed and specific. Father Charlevoix's account may be considered contemporary also. It was written only forty-six years after Dablon's narrative and by one who had been closely associated with those who knew Father Marquette. At any rate Charlevoix's narrative may be considered a source spring in itself, although a spring whose waters have been increased maybe by seepage from the Dablon fountain. For Charlevoix, though "trusting much to tradition," was an independent writer, gifted with a power of accurate observation and description. And even Shea blames him for "neglecting the archives of his Order in Quebec, Paris, and Rome."

AUTHORS VARY

Including Charlevoix and the *Jesuit Relations* I have read sixteen accounts of the death scene of Father Marquette by as many different authors. They will be found in the bibliography at the end of this essay. And I may say here that the later writers follow either the *Relation* narrative or that of Charlevoix. And, furthermore, I may say that of the sixteen historians cited, fourteen locate the death scene of Marquette at the mouth of the Pere Marquette River near Ludington and the other two, we shall find, are obviously in error. And so we might rest the truth of our first assertion on the evidence already cited. But some of the later historians while following the sources generally have set up sign posts of their own also; and some of these signs have helped to guide us to Marquette's first grave while others have led us astray.

Bancroft's account of Marquette's death is substantially the one found in Charlevoix. But Bancroft concludes his narrative with this telling sentence: "The people of the West will build his monument." That brief prophetic remark of the great American historian has been a challenge to every reader of Bancroft for eighty years now to learn more about the Jesuit Jacques Marquette and fitly honor his memory.

Shea had been a Jesuit and he had access both to the *Relation* account and that of Charlevoix. But Shea, in his lucid, scholarly manner, summoned tradition also to guide us to Marquette's first burial place. He says that the river on whose bank Marquette died "had long been called after the father, but from recent maps the name seems to have been forgotten. Its Indian name is Notispescago, and according to others, Aniniondibeganining."

The quotation is from *The Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, a book written by Shea in 1852. In a map of "Michigan and part of Wisconsin Territory," published in 1839 by David H. Burr, geographer to the United States house of Representatives, the river which flowed into Lake Michigan at the site of Ludington was still marked "Pere Marquette," and so the neglect of the name must have been of recent origin when Shea wrote. Shea says that the Indian name for the Pere Marquette River was Notispescago without explaining its meaning.

HISTORY OF COUNTY USED

Through the kindness of Warren A. Cartier of Ludington, the Alpha Sigma Tau committee while visiting that city recently had access to a large, anonymous History of Mason County. In that history we read: "The Indian name of the lake and river afterwards

named Pere Marquette was Notapekagon, meaning, a river with heads on sticks. Making due allowance for the variable Indian orthography, this name is undoubtedly the same as that given by Shea. And going on to explain the origin of the name, the "History of Mason County" says: "Very many years ago an encampment of Indians on the lake was nearly exterminated by a band of Ptotawotamie Indians coming from the south. The heads of the slain were severed from their bodies and placed on sticks. Hence the name."

And it is worth noting that on a map of Michigan published as late as 1911 in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, the name written on the river at Ludington is "Notepseakan" while the lake at its mouth is marked "Pere Marquette." Shea gives another Indian name for the river, namely Aniniondibeganining. With apologies to the printer I reproduce a similar name from the "History of Mason County," namely, "Nindebekatunning" which means "a place of skulls." It was the name applied to the old Indian village on the site of Ludington and had reference to the Indian burying ground there.

The "History of Mason County" already cited opens with a worthy tribute to the early Jesuits for their labors in the Northwest. Then it goes on to describe the labors of Father Marquette in particular. And the narrative is so corroborative of what we have read above that I quote some of its pertinent passages. After tracing Marquette on his travels to his last homeward voyage up the east coast of Lake Michigan, the author continues: "He felt that the seal of death was upon him, and that his last hour was rapidly approaching. He told his companions that he was soon to leave them; and as they were passing the mouth of the river that now bears his name, he asked the men to land.

"Tenderly they bore him to the bank of the stream and constructed a shed of bark for his shelter, upon the bank of the river and near the waters of the great lake they dug his grave, as he had directed; and then pursued their way to Michilimackinae. This was on the 18th day of May, 1675."

MISLEADING GUIDE POST

Thus far I have considered only the signs that lead with certainty to Marquette's first grave. Now I must warn the reader against one erring guide post and interpret another one which is rather puzzling.

On Jan. 31, 1855, Judge John Law of Evansville, Ind., gave an interesting address in Cincinnati. His subject was: "Jesuit Missionaries in the Northwest." In the course of his lecture Judge Law

rehearsed the story of Father Marquette's death substantially as told in Charlevoix's "Journal." The address was printed a few years later in the Wisconsin Historical Collections with a footnote by Judge Law which says: "According to the map of Charlevoix, accompanying his 'histoire de la Nouvelle France,' 1744, the location of the 'Riviere die P. Marquette' is placed farther north than it is on the recent maps of Michigan; and it is the third river south of 'Bay die Traverse,' known on the modern maps as 'Riviere au Betsies.'" The judge is entirely mistaken. Every statement made in his note is wrong. And the note itself should be entirely demolished for it is an erring guide-post fastened onto the narrative of Charlevoix.

It has served to discredit and confound the narrative of the historian of New France and is a will-o'-the-wisp to those who search for the first grave of Marquette.

A copy of the map to which Judge Law refers may be found in the sixth volume of the "History of New France" as translated by Shea. On that map the mouth of the Pere Marquette river is about five miles south of the 44th degree north latitude; and that is just where it is on the modern maps. It is not quite clear what Judge Law meant to say in the second part of his note. If he meant that the river now called Betsey was marked Marquette on Charlevoix's map, I invite the reader to look and see. Both rivers—the Betsey and the Pere Marquette—are marked on Charlevoix's map and given their proper relative location. He could not mean that the "Bay du Traverse" is known in modern maps as the river of "Betsies" for on modern maps as well as in that of Charlevoix the two bodies of water are located and marked separately. If Mr. Law meant that the Pere Marquette river is the third river south of the Bay of Traverse he is partly right and partly wrong.

On Charlevoix's map the Pere Marquette is the third river traced and marked south of the Traverse bay, but why confound it with the River of Betsies when on modern maps as well as on that of Charlevoix the two rivers are traced and marked separately? If Judge Law meant to say that the Pere Marquette is the third river which the traveler meets in going southward from the Bay of Traverse, he is wrong again, for any sailor on the lakes will tell him today what Charlevoix long ago wrote in his Journal, that at "nearly every league along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan you find some river or large riverlet." A distance of over twenty leagues separates the mouth of the Marquette river from that of the Bay of Traverse.

I can understand, though, how Judge Law was deceived by Charlevoix's map. The names of the rivers and bays on the eastern shore

of Lake Michigan are in wretchedly small type and it is difficult to read some of them even with the aid of a powerful magnifier. But the "R. du P. Marquette" is clearly marked and traced in its proper latitude.

RIVER BED DETERMINED

There is another map of new France in the first volume of the *Jesuit Relations*, and on this map the Pere Marquette river is again marked correctly with its mouth about five miles south of the forty-fourth degree latitude. I have referred before to Burrs' map of 1839 on which the Pere Marquette is also marked and located accurately. I have examined two other very ancient maps of New France and both of them name and locate the Pere Marquette river correctly. One of these—Franquelin's Great Map of 1688—will be found in Kellogg's "Early Narratives of the Northwest"; the other is in Le Clerq's book entitled "The First Establishment of the Faith in New France," published in 1691 and translated by John G. Shea.

And I have found no record in history cartography or tradition that the Betsey river was ever called after Father Marquette while all the reliable records available trace the noted Jesuit missionary explorer to his last repose near Ludington at the mouth of the Pere Marquette river.

Parkman's account of the death of Father Marquette is found in his book "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West," published in 1869. The narrative is a faithful synopsis of that quoted above from the *Jesuit Relations*. But Parkman must have read Charlevoix too, for he blames him for trusting more to tradition than to the contemporary narrative; while he himself apparently trusting neither history nor tradition proceeds to guide us to Marquette's first grave by vague and puzzling signs of his own. Like Judge Law, Parkman betrays a strange fondness for Charlevoix's Sleeping Bear. In a footnote he says: "The river where he (Marquette) died is a small stream in the west of Michigan, some distance south of the promontary called the Sleeping Bear. It long bore his name which is now borne by a larger neighboring stream."

These are loose expressions. We have seen already that Father Marquette died at the mouth of the Marquette river. Now the mouth of the Pere Marquette river is about seventy miles south of the promontary called Sleeping Bear. That is some distance!

The other expression used by Parkman is also misleading. It conveys the impression that when Parkman wrote in 1869, there were two neighboring streams flowing into Lake Michigan, a larger and a

smaller one; that by 1869 the larger stream had taken the name Marquette which had long been borne by the smaller stream, which though nameless, still continued to flow. Parkman seems to be puzzled here. At least his narrative is puzzling.

RIVER COURSE CHANGED

The key to the puzzle is this:

In the year 1859, ten years before Parkman wrote, a miller of Ludington named Charles Mears, for the better accommodation of his sawmill dug the present wider and deeper channel for the outlet of the Pere Marquette river about a mile north of where the old channel was. The old channel was then filled up and abandoned and its name has since been borne by the "larger neighboring stream."

To Parkman, however, we are indebted for one of the most reliable of the old Indian traditions concerning the death scene of Marquette. He says: "In 1847 the missionary of the Algonquins at the Lake of the Two Mountains above Montreal wrote down a tradition of the death of Marquette from the lips of an old Indian woman born in 1777 at Michilichimac. Her ancestors had been baptized by the subject of the story. The old squaw said that the Jesuit was returning very ill to Michilimackinac, when a storm forced him and his two men to land near a little river. Here he told them that he should die, and directed them to ring a bell over his grave and plant a cross.

"They all remained four days at the spot. On the night of the fourth day he died and the men buried him as he had directed. On awakening in the morning they saw the stream begin to rise, and in a few moments encircled the grave of the Jesuit, which formed thenceforth an islet in the waters. The priest of the Two Mountains attested this story as a faithful literal account of the tradition told by the old woman."

Before narrating this story, Parkman had blamed Charlevoix for trusting more to tradition than to the contemporary narrative. And while telling the story he took another fling at the French historian, saying "the tradition has a resemblance to that related as fact by Charlevoix." But Parkman undoubtedly introduced the story because of the light it throws on the death scene of Marquette. And that is the reason why I reproduce it here. In that particular the tradition is in remarkable accord with the contemporary narrative.

As for the sudden, miraculous changing of the river bed narrated by the old woman, I am confident that neither Charlevoix nor the priest who attested the story nor Parkman himself put any credence in that. Anyone who is familiar with the eastern shore of Lake

Michigan knows that the action of the elements of wind, wave, water, frost, ice and river current, is sufficient to change the river channels without any recourse to the supernatural. And so the evidence makes it certain that Father Marquette died at the mouth of the Pere Marquette river near Ludington on May 18, 1675.

OLD RESIDENTS INFORM

But where was the mouth of the Pere Marquette river in 1675? Charles Mears, we said, changed the river channel in 1859. That change is recorded in the History of Mason County. The change was made within living memory and a vivid diagram drawn by Alan Hoxie on the way to Ludington made it clear to the other members of the Alpha Sigma Tau committee where to look for the old and new channel.

In 1858 when Mears began to dig the present channel, the old river bed was just north of the high bluff. This we know from the History of Mason County. On page 31 it gives an interesting account of the shipwreck of a mailman in 1855 while crossing the ferry over the Marquette river. And incidentally it says that the ferry at that time was just north of the high bluff.

Some of the old residents of Ludington still remember the old channel. And one of these—Mrs. Dardleska C. Hull—told the members of the Alpha Sigma Tau committee on Dec. 11, 1926 that the channel before Mears changed it was close to the foot of the high bluff about a mile southwest of Ludington. Mrs. Hull has lived near Ludington for seventy-six years and was nine years old when she settled there. The members of the committee accompanied by Father Golden of Ludington had a delightful interview with this youthful old lady. The infirmities of age are creeping upon her but her memory and other mental faculties are still unimpaired. The bluff of which we have just spoken is the highest point on the Michigan coast just southwest of Ludington.

And that fact together with Mrs. Hull's story had tempted the members of the committee to recommend the bluff as the site for the Marquette monument. It was near the old river mouth and would attract the boatsmen approaching Ludington from the south. It seemed to the committee that it answered to the "eminence near the river's mouth" which, according to the contemporary relation Marquette himself had chosen as the place for his burial. A monument there would be conspicuous indeed. But it would not mark the place where Marquette died.

NEW EVIDENCE FOUND

Since their return from Ludington the committee has come upon other evidence which has turned them definitely away from the high bluff. For this new evidence makes it clear that the river's mouth, though near the bluff in 1858, was not there in 1675. It is not necessary to follow the shifting sands of the bar at Ludington nor to trace the channel of the Pere Marquette river through all its probable changes. But we must find the river channel which Marquette entered in 1675.

Where was the mouth of the Pere Marquette river in 1675? It was not then where it was forty-six years later. When Charlevoix entered the river in 1721 the channel was at the foot of the high bluff. For Charlevoix says: "They buried him near the bank of the river, which from that time has retired by degrees, as out of respect to his remains, as far as the cape (bluff) the foot of which it now washes, and where it has opened for itself a new passage." And so during the forty-six years that elapsed between the burial of Marquette and the visit of Charlevoix, the river had opened for itself a new channel to the south of the old one "at the foot of the bluff."

Possibly there were other changes of channel during the one hundred and thirty-seven years that elapsed between the visit of Charlevoix and 1858 when the river also washed the foot of the bluff. But in such changes we are not interested.

Where was the mouth of the Pere Marquette river in 1675? Reflect once more on these pertinent extracts from Charlevoix's Journal: "On the 3rd of August (1721) I entered the river of Father Marquette in order to examine what I had been told of it was true. In order to make way for its discharge into Lake Michigan one would imagine that a great hummock which you leave on the left as you enter, had been dug through; and on the right the coast is very low for the space of a good musket shot; afterwards, all of a sudden, it rises to a very great height.

It had actually been represented to me as such, and on this head the following is the constant tradition of all our travelers, and what ancient missionaries have told me. On the 18th day of May, 1675, he entered the river in question, the mouth of which was then at the extremity of the low ground which as I have already taken notice, you leave on the right hand as you enter. After half an hour they were surprised to find him dead. They buried him near the bank of the river which from that time has retired by degrees as far as the cape the foot of which it now washes."

For the sake of clearness it should be noted that Charlevoix enters the new channel in 1721, but examines and describes the old channel of 1675. He came to examine the old channel, "to see whether what he had been told of it was true." And when he has observed and described the old channel he adds: "It had actually been represented to me as such."

INDIAN TALES REVEAL

In his description Charlevoix gives three great landmarks which locate the old channel of 1675 exactly. The river seemed to have cut its way through a "great hummock" which you leave on the left as you enter; to the right was a very low coast for the space of a good musket shot; and then there was a sudden rise to a very great height. The hummock, the high bluff, and the intervening low coast for the space of a good musket shot (of the year 1721) may still be seen at Ludington. And Charlevoix's description makes it clear to me that in the year 1675 the river channel was at the southern base of the hummock and that the hummock was then near the river's mouth.

Of course the action of wind and wave from Lake Michigan has widened the sand bar about the hummock during the 250 years or more since Father Marquette's death. But, making due allowance for such changes if you visit Ludington today and take Charlevoix as guide, you may easily trace the old channel of 1675. And entering in spirit with Marquette you leave the great hummock on your left near the river's mouth and "fifteen paces higher you enter a lake which is two leagues in circuit."

Where then is the spot on which Father Marquette died? After weighing all the evidence I would say that he died either on the hummock or near its base. Local history and tradition point to this site. Recall some passages already quoted from the History of Mason County: "As they were passing the mouth of the river that now bears his name, he asked the men to land. Tenderly they bore him to the bank of the stream and constructed a shed of bark for his shelter. Upon the bank of the river and near the waters of the great lake they dug his grave, as he had directed."

And in another passage farther on the same History of Mason County says: "All accounts are that the party landed at the mouth of the river, entering the channel just enough to make a landing. The shed of bark was made upon the shore and by it his grave was dug. The Indian tradition is that his grave was at this point near the height."

The inhabitants of the old Indian village on the site of Ludington were Ottawas. And these Indians could never forget the "Angel of the Ottawas." So tradition says that they and their descendants fondly renewed the crosses on Marquette's grave.

GRAVE MARKERS REMEMBERED

Mr. Bert Smith of Ludington testified to the members of the Alpha Sigma Tau committee on Dec. 11, 1926, in presence of Warren A. Cartier, where the last of these crosses was placed. Smith had not seen the cross in position himself. But its location had often been pointed out to him by one of the oldest and most respected citizens of Ludington, Mr. Richard Hatfield.

Hatfield had the reputation of being the best local historian of his day. He was gifted with a keen intellect, a retentive memory and a love for truth and accuracy. According to Hatfield's story, the cross was not on the hummock itself but on its eastern slope near the base. On that same day, Dec. 11, 1926, Mrs. Hull in the interview already mentioned, told the members of the committee in presence of Father Golden, that she had seen the last of the crosses in place when she was nine years old. And her mother, she said, explained to her that the cross marked the spot where Father Marquette died. Mrs. Hull locates the cross where Smith did, near the base of the hummock.

Among the illustrations in Thwaite's life of Father Marquette will be found what I consider an accurate reproduction of the death scene. The original is in the Marquette building, Chicago. It is a bronze relief cast of the death of Marquette, by the well-known artist, Herman A. MacNeil. The shed of bark appears upon the eminence; while the eminence itself is on the north short of the brook, near Lake Michigan. At the southeast corner of the shed is an open grave, and near it on the north-head towards the grave is the body of Marquette prepared for burial. The two Frenchmen are kneeling reverently beside the body, at whose head stands the large cross as the Father had requested.

And so, with the approval of the other members of the Alpha Sigma Tau committee, I would say to the students of Marquette University: Place your monument on the hummock. History, cartography, tradition, local landmarks, artistic conception and fond memories—living and relayed—all meet on that spot, the hummock, the place of Jacques Marquette's last repose.

I have no doubt whatever that this hummock described by Charlevoix is the "eminence" near the river's mouth which the contemporary "Relation" says Marquette himself chose for his burial. And so

Charlevoix does not deserve all the blame that has been given him for "neglecting the contemporary narrative." He clarifies and completes the contemporary narrative and has thus done a great service to Father Marquette. And a monument placed on the hummock will mark the spot where Father Marquette died, or be within a dozen feet of it.

Marquette University.

PATRICK LOMASNEY, S. J.

CARDINAL MUNDELEIN'S ESTIMATE OF THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

THIS PUBLICATION is one we can be proud of. It is gotten up in an attractive form and its contents are interesting and instructive. I have been complimented on it and have heard it praised in many quarters from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It would be a pity to ever have its work discontinued for lack of support. The Society should receive encouragement from every source, and all who possibly can should enroll in its membership to safeguard the continuance of this work. I have seen movements of this kind begin, and I have seen them fail and the reason was generally lack of financial encouragement. Your system of life membership appeals to me as the best I have come across to make your work lasting, to insure its success. I need not add that your work has not only my blessing, it has my encouragement. It has every aid I can give it.

BISHOP ENGLAND'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH BISHOP ROSATI

(Continued from January issue.)

Bishop David wrote to Sister Mary Magdalene Neale of the Visitation Monastery, Georgetown, D. C., on January 16, 1833:

My good Bishop Flaget had taken it into his mind to resign his Bishopric, which by right then devolved on me, and consented to designate for me a coadjutor, which he thought a sufficient help for my old age and numerous infirmities. His abdication was accepted at Rome and every dispatch sent to me from that centre of ecclesiastical authority to constitute me Bishop of Bardstown, indults faculties, Bulls for my coadjutor, etc.; nothing was wanting to make the burden overwhelming. To express to you what I felt would be in vain. I shed more tears during three days than I have since I came to Kentucky. It was a profound affection united with astonishment at the step of that good Bishop, in whom his humility and the desire of a retired life had caused to forget all the sentiments of friendship and gratitude for one who had faithfully served him twenty-two years. He was all the while absent on a visitation of a part of his diocese, showing his infirmity by a journey of several hundred miles on horseback. The Bishop of St. Louis met him at Vincennes and persuaded him to accompany him to his own city and Ste. Genevieve, etc. This was a trait of a merciful Providence in my behalf. My letter of sorrow, lamentation and complaint at what he had done reached him at Ste. Genevieve, and was read by my true, generous friend, Bishop Rosati. I desired Bishop Flaget to bring him along with him to Bardstown, to consecrate, as I thought then, my coadjutor (Chabrat). But Providence had other views, and Bishop Rosati did not much contemplate that consecration. He had already expressed his surprise to Bishop Flaget and begun to press him to retrace his steps. This was happily effected at Nazareth. We all three Bishops offered Mass on St. John's day to obtain the light of God by the intercession of that beloved disciple of Our Lord. After we met together in private and found our good prelate willing to resume his charge, provided a coadjutor would be given him without delay, which will be effected, we all wrote to Rome—I to implore the mercy of the Holy Father and his ratification of what we had done, and entreat also the Cardinal Prefect to support my petition; Bishop Rosati to the same Cardinal to express assent to the measure.

“Our letters are gone to the See of Peter, and I hope I will obtain the favor of living in solitude, peace and retirement in my cottage of Nazareth, without any other title than that of Superior of Nazareth, at liberty now to make my more immediate preparation for the great journey of eternity. I am obliged to retain, till letters come from Rome, the title of Bishop of Bardstown, which is no great burden; for I have already bestowed on my dear Bishop the whole administrative powers, which he has immediately begun to exercise. Join me in giving thanks to God for this happy event and beg your good Mother and fervent Sisters to do the same; and while they admire with me the profound humility and eminent sanctity of Bishop Flaget, which appears as much in his

reassumption, as in his abdication, let them pray for us both, that we may continue to serve the Church of God, each according to his station.”⁵

On January 9, 1833, Bishop Flaget opened his heart to Father Frederick Rese of Cincinnati, as follows:

“As to a very intimate friend I will tell you of my own private affairs, in regard to my resignation—of which you must have certainly heard—I will tell you briefly how this favor was granted me. My direct petition to the Sovereign Pontiff was, that he might grant M. Chabrat, as the oldest, and I may say, the most learned of my priests, faculties to administer the sacrament of Confirmation without any episcopal consecration, and to aid me in the general administration. Knowing, however, that there might be difficulties in granting such a privilege, especially as there were already two Bishops in the same diocese, I added that, if my resignation were deemed necessary, I would with all my heart, after more than forty years in the missions of America, retire from the stage, where labors and trials were never wanting, to enjoy for the little time that may remain, and to me, the sweets of solitude and rest. In regard to this latter point it is settled that Monsignor David is by right Bishop, with Mgr. Chabrat for Coadjutor. Would to God that everybody was well pleased as I am with the news of these changes! *Mais Mon Dieu*, after all that I have heard and seen, it seems that everybody has complaints to make, except myself. Mgr. Rosati has very generously offered his counsels and meditation, and after having seen and heard both the clergy and the people, he has come to the following decisions: (1) That Mgr. David shall remain upon the field in order to send his resignation. (2) That I shall submit to the will of the Pope and resume the burden, if such be his good pleasure. (3) That Mgr. David shall at once pass over to me the whole administration of the diocese and that I shall accept the same. (4) That Mgr. Chabrat shall remain in statu quo until such time as answers to our letters come from Rome. Let us pray one for another. I have great confidence in your prayers and those of the grand work you have effected in the establishment of the Leopoldine Association for the Propagation of the Faith.”⁶

These two letters show among other things of importance, why Bishop England's news from Rome does not agree with the facts of history.

In regard to Bishop England's playful allusion to Bishop Rosati's desire of uniting the east bank of the Mississippi with the west, it appears that the desire was more reasonable than his friend supposed. For the journey overland from St. Louis to the Barrens, where the Seminary was situated, was, in those days of almost impassible roads, far more dangerous and difficult than the journey over the fine old French highway on the Illinois side, gratefully relieved by brief visits to the pastors of Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, Kaskaskia; thence to Ste. Genevieve across the river, and after a night's

⁵ American Catholic Historical Researches, vol. xvi, p. 158.

⁶ American Catholic Historical Researches, vol. xvi, p. 160.

rest, overland to Perryville. As a matter of fact, Bishop Rosati obtained his request and by Papal decree, the western half of Illinois was incorporated in the diocese of St. Louis, and remained there until the erection of the diocese of Chicago in 1844.

As to Bishop De Necker's desire for a coadjutor, and in particular for Anthony Blanc as such, we may note that Anthony Blanc was appointed, but refused to accept the honor and burden. Bishop De Nekere fell a victim of the yellow fever, "dying the death of a saint" on September 4th, 1833. Anthony Blanc became his successor in 1835.

The relations of Archbishop Whitfield and Bishop England were peculiar, to say the least. The archbishop strongly opposed the appointment of Irish Bishops for American Sees, as is evidenced by the following paragraph from that prelate's letter to Bishop Rosati, dated Baltimore, December 12, 1832:

"A few days before Bishop E. Fenwick's death," wrote Archbishop Whitfield, "he informed me that he was then very unwell. He had written to me a short time before from Detroit concerning the petition he had made to the Pope for having Father Kenney as his coadjutor. A few days ago I asked Father Mulledy, the president of G. Town College, what he thought of it, he said that, as Father Kenney was a professed Father, he could not be a Bishop, unless the Pope strictly commanded him; besides that Fr. Kenney had already declined the coadjutorship of Dublin. I have written nothing to Rome concerning Cincinnati. It was Bp. Fenwick's opinion that Mr. Resé would not be suitable, but might do well at Detroit. From various sources this opinion appears well founded. Some hints have been sent to me from Ohio, that Mr. Kenney, being a Jesuit, it might be against the good of that diocese, were he elected, as by the will of Bp. Fenwick two-thirds of the churches and landed property have been left to the Dominicans. They have proposed to me to recommend certain priests from my Diocese. One or two proposed, I know would not accept. I have done nothing as yet. Should Rome consult me, then I might deliberate and give my opinion. But let us all be cautious. If possibly a good choice can be made, let an American born be recommended and (between us in strict confidence) I do really think, we should guard against having more Irish Bishops. I am really afraid of the consequences and I hope my fear proceeds from no national antipathy, but from motives God may approve. This you know is a dangerous secret, but I trust, it to one in whom I have full confidence.

Yours in Christ,

James, Archbishop of Baltimore."

Bishop England was at the time, the only Irish Bishop in the American hierarchy. The next in point of time, Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, Coadjutor of Philadelphia, being consecrated June

* Archives of Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis. Cf. St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, vol. v, p. 244 s. q.

6, 1833, and Bishop Edward Purcell of Cincinnati on October 13, of the same year. Frederick Resé was appointed to Detroit; Father Kenny remained with the Jesuits, and Irish Bishops were selected in ever increasing numbers, because the Irish, together with the German Catholic immigrants, became the sum and substance of the Church in America.

The Second Provincial Council of Baltimore was held in October, 1833, a year later than was agreed upon by the prelates of the first. Both Bishops England and Rosati were in attendance. The main business transacted was the delimitation of the various dioceses. Only two sessions were held. In July of the following year Bishop England was in Rome. Here he received a special request to go to the Island of Haiti as Apostolic Delegate for the purpose of restoring religion to its former condition of freedom and purity. Bishop England feared, not so much a possible failure of his mission, but rather the danger to be incurred by his own poor diocese through his prolonged absence.

To his friend, the Bishop of St. Louis, he wrote as follows:

Rome, July 22, 1834.

Right Rev. and Dear Sir

I beg to inform you that, after repeated requests made to the Holy Father, I cannot induce him to acquiesce in relieving me from the charge of Haiti.

Suggestions have been made to me of various modes by which Charleston might be provided for. As yet I am not able to say which of these is liable to be acted upon. My business has been removed from the department of the Propaganda and committed to a special congregation with the Secretary for extraordinary ecclesiastical affairs, but no day has as yet been fixed for this congregation to meet.

I feel it my duty to apprise you that in one of those contingencies, I shall propose the following three names to have one of them chosen as my substitute and successor in the Diocese of Charleston, viz.

1. Rev. Paul Cullen, rector of the Irish College in Rome.
2. Rev. William Clancey, professor in the College of Carlow.
3. Rev. Patrick MacSweeney, president of the Irish College, Paris.

Rev. Mr. Odin was to have called upon me yesterday, previous to his departure last night. I have not seen him and know not whether he has gone. He was in excellent health.

I have the honor to remain, Right Rev. and Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Brother in Christ,

John, Bishop of Charleston.

The Right Rev. Doctor Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis.

William Clancy was appointed Coadjutor Bishop and managed the affairs of the diocese for two years, and then departed. Paul Cullen, in the course of events, became Archbishop of Armagh and Cardinal-Archbishop of Dublin.

In the early part of the following year Bishop England hastened his preparations for his voyage to Haiti. He writes as follows from

Charleston, 3rd of March, 1835.

Right Rev, and Dear Sir.

I am ashamed of my seeming neglect in not having sooner replied to your kind letter, but a tremendous arrear of business, the organization of my poor Sisters of Mercy, the establishment of my Ursulines, the effort to raise money to support my seminary and to meet other expenses, as what I got in Europe did not clear me of debt, all this, together with the ordinary duties of a young diocese and preparations for receiving my coadjutor and departing for Hayti as soon as he should arrive, so overwhelmed me as not to allow me one moment.

I have, thank God, got though a portion of this, but much yet remain to be done, and the most difficult part, that of raising money.

I find however that the Holy See will be seriously disappointed in having forced upon me again the legation to Hayti. My coadjutor will not be able, I find by late accounts, to leave Ireland for a couple of months yet. And then it will be too late for me to go to the West Indies until after the summer. Meantime, however, I have more than abundance to occupy me here.

I read without envy, but with regret, that I could not have been there, the account of your splendid consecration of your magnificent church,⁵ and looked upon my few paltry boards, my empty pews, and my list of debts! Go on and prosper! You ask when I can spend a week with you. I would be glad it could be tomorrow, but God alone can tell if I shall ever be able to have that pleasure. I see little prospect of it at present, yet it is not impossible.

I foresee great difficulties in Hayti and the necessity of great exertions here. I have, without my own fault, been too long absent, and to very little purpose so far as Charleston is concerned, and, therefore, must try if I can, to make some amends. We are weak and few and poor, in debt and surrounded by formidable, wealthy and numerous opponents. One inducement would draw me to St. Louis. If I could get two or three thousand dollars for our poor place here.

New Orleans is again vacant. I wish that Portier could be prevailed upon to go thither and leave Mobile to someone else. With all his zeal and talents, though I say nothing upon the subject to him, I fear he is taking a wrong way to make a mission in that important section. Frenchmen will not answer, and he has made a very wrong admission of Irish students, in whom he has been disappointed, as I was myself, until I changed my plan. The subject is a delicate one for me to touch. In New Orleans he could, with the greatest advantage, bring in French (priests.) In Alabama they will not answer. I have had communications that would not be made to him, and I know the feeling which

⁵ After the consecration of his Cathedral Bishop, Rosati sent a glowing account of splendid building and the festivities held—the occasion, to the Pope and to the Prefect of the Leopoldine Association and probably to the Association for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons. From the letter it would appear that some of the American Bishops were also favored with it. Bishop England's Cathedral was a poor frame structure, and escaped the fire because it stood in the rear of the church lot. The second St. Finbari Cathedral was destroyed by fire in 1861.

exists, which delicacy towards so good a man restrains from being expressed unpleasantly.

Rome would instantly accede to it, but he deprives New Orleans of its best bishop, and keeps a place in which he cannot be so useful. Could you do anything in this? After the exhibition in October, 1833, I fear to move in anything, for suspicion seems to attach to everything that I suggest. And some of the most influential persons appear to be ready to thwart anything that I would propose. This has determined me to keep as far aloof as my sense of duty will permit.

There are many other important concerns upon which I have suggestions, that to me it would seem, under other circumstances, I could not avoid making. But as I said at the Propaganda, when asked to give my opinion and report upon the state of our church, "I am one and almost alone in my opinions and views, I am not satisfied with what I see, but the general sentiment is so decidedly against my views and opinions, that it could do no benefit to urge them. I beg therefore to be excused. If I cannot promote harmony, I will not create dissension."

I perceive that in the West you have the cry against you equally strong, as it is at the East and at the South.⁹ Here it is worse than I ever knew it. Still we manage to keep our opponents in check. But here they treat us worse than you can imagine; for, by reason of our paucity and poverty and their numbers and wealth, they overwhelm us. Education is in their hands, they will not give us a scholar, and then prejudices are kept up and the means for supporting our institutions are kept from us.¹⁰ The West has an immense advantage over us in this, and so has Mobile over me. New Orleans sustains his college and convent. Our Ursulines have two boarders and seven day pupils. They are treated with cold politeness, but they are first rate women of fine accomplishments and great religion and will win their way. More flattering offers were made to them if they would leave the city and go to the country, but neither they nor I would listen for a moment to the proposal.

Adieu for the present, accept my thanks for your letter and be assured of the esteem of

Your affectionate Brother in Christ,
John, Bishop of Charleston.

The Right Rev. Doctor Rosati.

The phrase "After the exhibition in October, 1833," no doubt refers to opposition and possibly incrimination, the Irishman, Bishop England, met at the Second Council of Baltimore, which convened in October, 1833. Ecclesiastical sense of decorum has cast a veil over the occurrences. But it is plain from this letter that Bishop

⁹ The anti-Catholic movement is here meant.

¹⁰ The Ursuline Nuns were brought to Charleston in 1834, for the purpose of conducting a school for the higher classes; but Protestants refused to send their daughters, and Catholics were too poor to sustain it. After suffering in poverty for twenty years, the older members of the Order returned to Ireland and the others were sent to Cincinnati by Bishop Reynolds. Bishop Lynch succeeded in re-establishing them in the diocese.

England felt hurt, realizing his lonely and helpless position. But he proceeded to Haiti and did his best to restore favorable conditions for the Church. On June 17 he wrote to Bishop Rosati from New York, whence he was about to sail for Europe.

New York, June, 2836.

Right Rev. and Dear Sir.

When your letter enclosing that for Mr. Maginnis arrived, I was on my return from the West Indies, whither I had gone in the middle of April, and whence I arrived in Charleston on the 3d of this month, after another and perhaps an ineffectual attempt to bring the island into union with the Holy See.

I feel obliged by the very kind and honorable manner in which you have acted towards Mr. Maginnis. He is a good moral priest, who has not been content however with the missions upon which I sent him, and I do not consider him qualified for the places which he considers his due. He was therefore dissatisfied, and I told him he may go whither he would, and that I would give him an exeat, as he had a right to expect. Subsequently to his application to you, he called on me and asked for the mission of Columbus in Georgia, which I gave him, and where he now is. I have therefor told Mr. Baker my Secretary to answer yours among many other letters which I could not attend to, as I was under the necessity of going immediately to Europe, whither I go by the packet of Liverpool on the 24th. I told him that if Mr. Maginnis chose to profit by your letter, he may be allowed to do so.

My business takes me to Ireland, France and Italy, and I hope that I may be able to return by the end of the year with the Superior of the Ursulines, who goes with me to Ireland on business of her house.

I am now busy in my preparations. I beg you will excuse this hurried letter

from Your affectionate Brother in Christ,

John, Bishop of Charleston.

Right Rev. Dr. Rosati
Bishop of St. Louis.

On May, 1838, shortly after the great conflagration that destroyed nearly one-third of the city of Charleston, Bishop England issued a "Letter addressed to the charitable and benevolent citizens of the United States in behalf of the Catholic congregations which suffered by the Great Fire at Charleston." A copy of this circular reached Bishop Rosati, who immediately ordered a collection to be taken up for the Catholics of Charleston. In an old discarded bank-book Bishop Rosati marked down the results of the collection under the title:

"MONEYS COLLECTED FOR THE CHURCH OF CHARLESTON, 1838"

"Moneys collected for the Church of Charleston, 1838.		
July 15	In the Cathedral Church of St. Louis.....	\$110.00
July 16	Sister Angela Superior of the Asylum.....	10.00
July 16	By W.....	5.00
July 18	Cash ..	5.00

July 19	Cahokias	5.00
July 21	Sister Frances, Superior of Hospital.....	10.00
July 21	Madam Thieffry, Superior of Sacred Heart.....	10.00
July 21	Mr. Willior Schwab, Organ-maker.....	10.00
Aug. 9	St. Charles	9.50
	Gravois (now Kirkwood).....	3.87
	Dardennes	3.93
	St. Louis University	50.12½
	Florissant	24.00
	English Settlement	15.00
	Cape Girardeau	12.25
	St. Michael, Fredericktown.....	16.56¼
Sept. 5	Ste. Genevieve.....	15.00
	Portage	2.00
	St. Mary's, Barrens	19.50
	St. Joseph's Apple Creek	14.00
	New Madrid	8.00
	Vieille Mine (Old Mines).....	10.00
	M. Van Clostere, Prairie du Rocher.....	6.00
	M. Saulnier, Carondelet.....	5.00
		<hr/>
	Making a total of.....	379.78¾

Bishop Rosati transmitted this amount to Bishop England with a letter of sympathy, probably including a promise of further help, as Bishop England's words "charitable recollection and generous beginning" in the following letter would indicate.

Charleston (S. C.) 14th August 1838.

Dear and Right Rev. Sir;

Your consoling letter of July 16th has been duly received and would have been answered before now, but for an arrear of business that presses me down, in consequence of the large demands upon my time to help out B. C. in his remarks upon Doctor Bachmann,¹¹ and to do this with any tolerable accuracy requires heavy, close and laborious and precise research.

I am truly grateful for your charitable recollection and your generous beginning. We have already made some progress. St. Patrick's, a wooden frame building, covered with a tin, 60 feet by 36 clear, and having galleries, total

¹¹ Dr. John Bachmann, a Lutheran Minister had on November 12, 1837, purchased and afterwards published a "Discourse on the Doctrine and Discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," in which he attacked, among other points, the Catholic doctrine of Transsubstantiation. Bishop England had this discourse reprinted in the Catholic Miscellany, and then, week by week dissected its arguments and showed up its fallacies in nineteen letters, full of learning, wisdom and wit. The treatise may be found in the first volume of Bishop England's work under the title "Letters on the Catholic Doctrine of Transsubstantiation," p. 347 to 474. Archbishop Sebastian Messmer edited a second edition of Bishop England's Works. McElvones' edition is in two volumes.

expense about \$5000, one half paid, will be ready for the divine offices in five or six weeks.

St. Mary's brick about 80 by 50 will cost nearly \$20,000 of which there is secured about \$12,000. I lay the foundation, God willing, tomorrow and it will probably be finished by this time twelve months.

The old wooden cathedral, 80 by 40 will hold for a few years, and God will bring us better times. I am doing what I can, but that "can" is exceedingly little, but I hope our foundations are solid and, above all, I have great confidence that our Ursuline community will hold its ground and be very beneficial.

Indeed, I am very tired. Yours is the fifteenth letter I have this day disposed of.

The weather is here exceedingly hot, but as yet, thank God, not very unhealthy.

May God reward all our benefactors an hundredfold and give you every spiritual and temporal success for your charitable work, is the prayer of, Right Rev. Sir,

Your Affectionate Brother in Christ

John, Bishop of Charleston.

The Right Rev. Doctor Rosati.

Bishop Rosati endorsed this letter of thanks as follows: "1838, August 14, Rt. Rev. Bishop England, no answer wanted."

No letters of later date were found in our archives. Bishop Rosati started on his own mission to Haiti in 1841 to complete the good work Bishop England had left unfinished in the island republic; Bishop England died on April 10, 1842, and Bishop Rosati followed him into eternity on September 25, 1843.

Both these prelates were of heroic mold, and both deserve the "monumentum aere perennius" or an exhaustive and well-written *Life*. Materials for this double purpose exist in abundance. We feel sure that the proper historians will appear in due time.

St. Louis, Missouri.

REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER.

THE PRIEST'S HOUSE — A RELIC OF EARLY CATHOLICITY IN KENTUCKY

In 1934 will be celebrated the three hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Maryland by the English Catholics. It is not the purpose of this short article to discuss the question of the number of Catholics aboard the *Ark and Dove*, or their influence in establishing religious freedom, or the claims of certain historians that Rhode Island was the first of the colonies to grant freedom of conscience; for these and other topics will again pass under the searching scrutiny of the historian. But no one, who has studied the chronicles of the times, can have any hesitation about the importance of the events. Already the Catholic Historical Society has discussed some features of the celebration, and the *Commonweal* has brought the subject before the entire country by offering a thousand dollar prize for the best "Sketch of the History of Maryland from 1634 to 1790."

This short article deals with a very minor event which was a result of the religious complications in colonial Maryland. The story takes us from the struggles of the Catholics in Maryland to the settlements in north central Kentucky, where in 1808 Bishop Flaget was placed over the diocese of Bardstown.

After establishing a colony where there was religious freedom and after welcoming people of every faith, the Catholics of colonial Maryland found themselves outnumbered by those of other denominations and deprived of the very rights which they had gladly accorded to strangers. From the year 1651 until the American Revolution they were disfranchised and persecuted by those whom they had befriended. They saw the seat of government removed from the old town of St. Marys to Annapolis, and witnessed such hatred on the part of their persecutors, that Catholics, without bearing insult, could not walk in front of the court-house of the principal city of the colony they had founded.

Even after the Revolutionary War was fought and won, the Catholics of Maryland felt the spirit of religious animosity around them. As their ancestors had come from England to seek peace and protection in the service of God, so would they find homes in the western part of the New World, where they and their children would enjoy religious liberty. In 1785 twenty families sold their farms in Maryland, placed their belongings in wagons and ox-carts and started on their exodus to Kentucky. These first Catholic settlers were devout

people; and while they did not neglect their temporal interests, they were ever solicitous for the things of God and the soul. During their long years of persecution in Maryland they had ever held in reverence the priest of God; and now in their western homes they would be equally solicitous, not only for his ministrations, but his comforts.

In that scholarly volume: "The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky," by Benedict J. Webb, many an interesting story is told of the hardships of the early missionary priests in that state. But in every home they were received with honor; and every effort was made to lessen their privations. In many a remote locality where a church could not be built and where the priest came only at intervals, there was built a little frame house to accommodate the priest. It was known as the Priest's House, and was set aside for his exclusive use. One of these little structures is still standing on the Liver's farm about eight miles from Bardstown, Kentucky; and about a mile from the new St. Gregory's Church at Samuel's depot, thirty-two miles south of Louisville.

In its dilapidated condition the little Priest's House does not appear very attractive or inviting. But the writer remembers it fifty years ago when as a child he prayed there before the simple altar. I remember it, too, on a winter's night when an immense log in the spacious fireplace was all aglow, and sent up showers of sparks into the equally spacious chimney, and lit up the face of a venerable missionary who recited his office before the blazing hearth.

The little house was divided into two rooms; one of which was the priest's bedroom and the other a chapel with every convenience for the sacrifice of the Mass. When the house was built no one knows. Mrs. Gertrude Mattingly, the youngest child of Harry Livers, and now in an advanced age, told the writer that the house was old when she was a child. In 1851 the few Catholics scattered through the neighborhood were able to construct a small brick church on property donated by Harry Livers; but long before that date the Priest's House had done service.

Let us picture one of the religious scenes connected with the Priest's House. It is towards the end of June, say in 1827, when Rev. George A. M. Elder, the President and one of the founders of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, Ky., has been freed from his manifold duties at the institution of learning and has seen the students off to their homes. Instead of a vacation he will devote his time to missionary work and will begin with a scattered flock, later to be known as St. Gregory's Parish. He mounts his ambling nag and rides the eight miles over a fair road. As he nears the Liver's home-

stead a group of children run down the long lane to meet him; for word had been sent that the children must be ready for a two weeks' course in catechism. Just think of the joy of two weeks with the priest!

The Priest's House is ready. He will be just as quiet here as in his room in the college. The rag carpet on the floor of his room is striped and of every hue. There is a rude home-made table upon which he puts his hat, gloves, and saddle-bags. The chairs have seats of corn husks, but they are not uncomfortable; and his bed is woven of strong hempcord instead of springs. As there is no clothes-press he will hang his coat on a wooden peg in the wall.

So far no one has greeted the priest. What can be the meaning of the silence? When he had appeared far down the lane the anxious children ran towards him; then at a word from the priest the oldest fell upon their knees and the smaller children imitated their older brothers and sisters. As he dismounted and walked slowly across the yard the members of the household knelt in lowly reverence; for Father Elder had brought with him the Holy Eucharist. On the following morning many of the grown people would have to be in the fields before the Mass for the children, but they asked the privilege of beginning the day with Holy Communion.

Father Elder passed from his own room to the chapel without leaving his humble residence. A modest chapel it was, twenty feet by twenty in size, with only a little altar for the portable altar-stone and the small missal. There were no pews, but only a chair or two for the older folks. Those who could not find room within the chapel were content to kneel on the grass in the yard.

Father Elder finds his way through the crowd of little ones, who are awaiting to adore their Lord and God, and places the ciborium within the tiny tabernacle. Then he says a prayer, and the children find their way out into the yard. The greetings must be short, for Father Elder wishes to begin the lessons as soon as possible.

Benches have been arranged on the spacious porch of the Liver's house and are filled with children anxious to hear the word of God. Many grown people are there, for they would take occasion to hear the explanation of their holy religion.

Father Elder was with his own people. He was the son of one of the first Catholic immigrants to Kentucky and thoroughly understood those with whom he worked. Educated under the fostering care of the Sulpician Fathers at Baltimore, Maryland, he had returned to labor among the Catholics of his native state.

Following the catechetical lesson there was an intermission, when the boys and girls opened their rather large baskets and partook of the bountiful repast prepared for them by their parents. Then there was recreation with simple games and amusements, followed by another session of class. The exact mastering of the prayers was an all important part of the day's program.

The children were dismissed long before it was dark, for many had far to go and often to walk the entire distance. But at times a friendly neighbor brought a score and more of the children in a capacious farm-wagon and waited to take them home. Sometimes as many as four little children rode astride a single horse, holding on bravely while their older brother or sister guided the gentle animal.

So the days went by with the routine of classes. For many these would be the only opportunities which would come to the children to learn the elements of their religion. At the close of the two weeks of instruction, the parents would be invited to listen to their children reciting their lessons. On such an occasion the priest reminded the parents of their duty to see that the children continued their study of the catechism. Every evening fathers and mothers were to kneel with their children and recite night prayers in common; and this not only drew down the blessing of God upon the family, but assured the remembrance of the prayers which had been learned under such difficulties.

For fifty years I have watched the old house go to decay, for it is no longer serving its purpose. When a child I prayed within the small chapel and felt the sweet influence of its holiness. Even when as a boy I walked past the sacred little structure I seemed to tread the grass lightly, as if fearful of treating the place with some slight disrespect. Saintly priests had abided there, and prayed there, and offered up the sacrifice of the Mass. Devout people had come there for the instruction and for the sacraments. The big frame house which stood near by seemed to be sanctified by the Priest's House. The whole household appeared nearer to God and blessed by God, because it sheltered the priest of God.

I still recall my first visit to the little chapel after my own ordination. The altar stone had been removed and the sacred vestments were no longer there; and people no longer came for instruction and the sacraments. But the place was still holy; and with reverence I knelt and said a prayer.

I would not plead for a preservation of the old Priest's House; let slow decay do its work. While the Church preserves with reverence those things and places which have been connected with her services,

still she realizes that many of these shrines must perish. In our large cities, as business trespasses upon old living sections, many a church is torn down and many an altar removed. They have done their work; and the people who found there the consolation of religion are dead or gone. The buildings perish, as do they who worshipped therein; only the good deeds remain, registered as they are in the book of eternal life.

Often during the past thirty years have I passed by the old Priest's House, each time noting the gradual decay. Strong hands must have built it, for it had defied the elements all these years. At each visit I bowed my head. At each visit I thought of preserving a photograph and a short account of the little structure.

I am interested in this relic of early Catholicity in Kentucky because it stands for an ideal. It reminds me of the sacrifices which the Catholics of the period made; it reminds me of their reverence for the priest of God, and of their effort to provide for his temporal wants, while he ministered to the things of the soul.

When the stage coach line from Louisville to Nashville was superseded by the railroad, St. Gregory's little church was made more accessible, and the Priest's House was not of the same service that it had formerly been. Still long after the Civil War it was used by those who ministered to the parish; and hallowed are the names of Fathers Bouchet, Defraigne, and Russell, the devoted pastors who came at intervals to say Mass in the little church nestled away among the oak trees.

A new church has been built by the little parish. It stands close to the railroad and is served by an all-time pastor. It has its own school and is flourishing beyond the most sanguine hopes of those who have watched its recent growth. When its people were gathered together by a pastor who could devote his entire time to their religious needs, the number of Catholics scattered throughout the neighborhood was a surprise. The Priest's House had proved its influence in saving many to th Faiteh.

HENRY S. SPAULDING, S. J.

St. Marys, Kansas.

INFLUENCE OF THE IRISH PEOPLE IN THE FORMATION OF THE UNITED STATES

“America was lost by Irish emigrants.” (Parliamentary Debate—Lord Mountjoy—April 2, 1784.)

“The Irish are with the Americans to a man.” (Lord Chatham—The English Parliament, 1775.)

“They were known as ‘The Pennsylvania Line,’ whereas they might have been, with more propriety, called ‘The Line of Ireland’ * * * always prefer an appeal to the bayonet to a toilsome march.” (General) Henry Lee—Memoirs.)

“I am informed that Doctor Franklin, with secret approbation of this Court, has engaged between thirty and forty of the Irish officers in this service to go and serve in the Rebel Army.” (Lord Stormont, English Minister to France, to Lord Weymouth, 1778.)

“We acknowledge, with pleasure and gratitude, that your nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America.” (“Address to the People of Ireland,” adopted by the Continental Congress—Philadelphia, 1775.)

“As the Irish Brigade struck down the British power at Landen and Fontenoy, so did the refugee Irish in the ranks of the American patriot army contribute to pluck from the haughty brow of Britain the palm of empire.” (Samuel Smiles, English writer.)

“But as for you, our dear and good friends of Ireland * * * if the government, whom you at this time acknowledge, does not take off and remove every restraint on your trade, commerce and manufactures, I am charged to assure you that means will be found to establish your freedom in this respect, in the fullest and amplest manner.” (Benjamin Franklin; “Address to the Good People of Ireland,” from Versailles, Oct. 4, 1778.)

PRE-REVOLUTION SETTLEMENTS BY THE IRISH PEOPLE

In these items we have adhered strictly to *facts* that can be verified by existing records. We have taken but a few from each section of the Original Colonies; there are many equally effective in proving the tremendous immigration of the Irish to our country prior to the Revolution, but lack of space forbids entering them.

1621—Irish colony brought from Cork, Ireland, by Sir William Newce, settled at what is now Newport News, Virginia.

1627—(about) Large colonization in Virginia by “Daniel Gookin of Carrigoline, County Cork, with people from Cork.” (State Papers—Public Record Office, England.)

- 1633—First record of Irish settlement in Maryland.
- 1642—First record of Irish settlers in Massachusetts.
- 1653—Sir Richard Nethersole's expedition of 100 Irish families to Virginia.
- 1669—Colony from Kinsale, Ireland, arrived in South Carolina.
- 1674—First record of Irish settlers in New York.
- 1675—More than 100 Irish-born are recorded in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut to have fallen in battle, or were murdered by savages in "King Philip's War."
- 1676—The *only* European country that sent relief to the Colonists in their great distress this year was Ireland—"The Irish Donation" sailed from Dublin. (New Eng. Hist. and Genealog. Soc.'s Annual Register, 1848.)
- 1682—Important Irish colony from Cork and Wexford, Ireland, came over with William Penn.
- 1684—Lord Baltimore's proclamation making the County of New Ireland, Maryland, and sub-dividing it into three parts—New Connaught, New Leinster and New Munster.
- 1690—An Irish settlement from Limerick, Ireland, begun in Berkley County, South Carolina, known as "The Limerick Plantation."
- 1687—Thomas Dougan was Governor of the Province of New York, born in County Kildare, Ireland.
- 1687—(about) Settlements by Irish colonists in Suffolk, Albany, Columbia, Ulster, Westchester and Schenectady Counties, N. Y.
- 1714-1720—"Fifty-three ships were registered in Boston from various Irish ports, mostly 'with passengers'" during this period.
- 1717-1723—Irish settlements in Lancaster, Bucks, Westmoreland, Dauphin, Cumberland, Northampton and York Counties, Penna., by immigrants from Armagh and Donegal principally.
- 1720—"Log College," founded at Neshaminy, Pa., by Rev. William Tennant from County Armagh, Ireland.
- 1720—Irish from Cork, Kerry and Tipperary, Ireland (1,500 persons), landed in Boston—located in Maine. Established the town of Cork in what is now Lincoln County.
- 1728—5,600 Irish people landed that year at Delaware River ports.
- 1729—5,655 Irish people landed that year at Philadelphia and but 553 from all other European countries.
- 1729—"About nineteen hundred families had already sailed from Ireland to New England." (*American Weekly Mercury*, Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 18, 1729.) These were mostly from Cork, Kerry, Waterford and Wexford, settling in what are now Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine.

- 1729—"From 1729 to 1750 about 12,000 annually came from Ireland to America." (Dr. Robert Baird—History of Religion in America—New York, 1844.)
- 1730—Large Irish colony settled in Williamsburg County, South Carolina.
- 1735—Kennedy O'Brien, an Irishman, founded the city of Augusta, Ga.
- 1735-1770—Large Irish settlements in Shenandoah Valley, Albemarle and Orange Counties, Va.
- 1737—Founding of The Charitable Irish Society, Boston.
- 1746—"The Irish were the first to settle in the Yadkin River District." (Colonial Records of North Carolina.)
- 1761—Colony from Dublin, Ireland, settled in North Carolina.
- 1764—"Robert Harper Petition"—300 families, mostly from Monaghan, Ireland, settled in Washington County, N. Y.
- 1765—Large Irish colony, founded by William Gilliland, a native of Ireland, in Essex County, N. Y.
- 1765—Large Irish emigration to North Carolina. President Andrew Jackson's parents landed that year.
- 1766-1770—127 ships arrived at Port of New York from Ireland—mostly carrying passengers.
- 1766—Lieut. Governor Brown arrived at Pensacola, Florida, with 200 settlers from Ireland.
- 1768—Largest single colony in Georgia up to that time came from Ireland—107 persons.
- 1771—Founding of the Society of The Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick, Philadelphia, Pa.
- 1772—Two Irish colonies settled in Georgia, one near Queensborough Township and "The Irish Colony" in Jefferson County.
- 1773—"Within this fortnight 3,500 emigrants have arrived from Ireland." (Baltimore *Advertiser*, Aug. 30, 1773.)

We give here an incomplete but, as far as it goes, an authentic record of soldiers and sailors in the Revolutionary Army and Navy who were Irish born or of Irish extraction. These were drawn from the State and National Muster Rolls and forever refute the oft-repeated assertion of biased authorities that the Irish people were a minor factor in our struggle for Freedom:

COMMANDING OFFICERS BORN IN IRELAND

Generals—John Armstrong, Ephraim Blaine, Andrew Brown, Richard Butler, Thomas Conway, Edward Hand, Andrew Lewis, Richard Montgomery, Stephen Moylan, Griffith Rutherford, Michael

Ryan, John Shee, William Thomson, William Irvine, William Maxwell, James Hogan, John Greaton.

Commodores—John Barry, John Shaw.

Revolutionary Generals born in this country of Irish parents—James Moore, James Clinton, George Clinton, Joseph Reed, John Sullivan.

Pennsylvania Regiments—James Barry, William Butler, Sharp Delaney, Morgan Connor, Bernard Dougherty, James Irvine, Francis Johnston, John Kelly, Robert Magaw, William Magaw, John Moylan, William McAlevy, Morgan O'Connor, John Patten, Thomas Proctor, John Shea, James Smith, John Stewart, Walter Stewart.

Virginia Regiments—Andrew Donnelly, Charles Lewis, Charles Magill, Mathew Donovan, John Fitzgerald.

Kentucky Regiments—Thomas Casey, James McBride.

Massachusetts Regiments—Michael Ryan.

New Hampshire Regiments—Pierse Long, Hercules Mooney, Daniel Moore, Andrew McCleary, Daniel Reynolds, Mathew Thornton, Joseph Welsh.

Continental and French Armies—Andrew Brown, Arthur Dillon, Bartholomew Dillon, Theobald Dillon, Charles Walsh.

Georgia Regiments—Patrick Carr, John Dooley.

South Carolina Regiments—Patrick Welsh.

New Jersey Regiments—John Neilson.

New York Regiments—Patrick Smith.

Delaware Regiments—John Haslett.

North Carolina Regiments—Thomas Burke, Robert Meleaney.

REVOLUTIONARY NAVY CAPTAINS BORN IN IRELAND

Massachusetts Navy—Michael Barry, James Bourke, Simon Byrne, William Callaghan, John Casey, John Donaldson, Simon Forrester, Patrick Hare, Jeremiah Heggarty, Hugh Hill, Lawrence Hogan, John Kehoe, James Magee, John Maloney, Thomas Moriarty, John Murphy, John O'Brien, Francis Roach, John Tracy, Michael Tracy, Nicholas Tracy, Patrick Tracy.

Pennsylvania Navy—Patrick Barry, James Byrne, Paul Cox, Gustavus Conyngham, Mathew Lawler, Daniel Murphy, David Walsh.

Rhode Island Navy—William Malone, Francis Mulligan, John Murphy.

Virginia Navy—Bernard Gallagher.

Connecticut Navy—Richard McCarty.

New York Navy—Thomas Quigley.

Continental Navy—Michael Shaw, Thomas Sullivan.

There are forty-seven Colonels' names in this list who were IRISH BORN. With thirty-seven Naval Captain—a rank on water equal to a Colonel on land—and the SEVENTEEN GENERALS—Irish born—in the Army that fought for American Freedom—surely any fair-minded reader must recognize that our country owes a debt to Ireland that can be paid in part by kind thoughts for the land that gave so many of her sons to battle for our LIBERTY.

As examples we quote a few names, the country of whose origin no one can mistake, and the number of each. These names are taken from the State and National Archives of the Revolutionary period:

Burke, 221; Brady, 127; Connolly, 243; Callaghan, 150; Carroll, 183; Daly (or Dailey), 205; Doherty, 248; Donnelly, 155; Doyle, 125; Farrell, 142; Fitzgerald, 184; Flynn, 138; Hogan, 115; Kenny, 164; Kelly, 695; Lynch, 128; McCarthy, 331; McCormack, 154; McGinnis, 112; Murphy, 494; McGuire, 168; McLaughlin, 223; McMahan, 143; McMullen-Mullen, 231; O'Brien, 231; O'Connor, 327; O'Neill, 178; Quinn, 122; Reilly, 285; Ryan, 322; Sullivan, 266; Sweeney, 115; Walsh, 201.

Close to the hundred mark we find dozens of true Irish names, such as Barry, Brannon, Casey, Cassidy, Cavanaugh, Delaney, Dempsey, Donohue, Driscoll, Duffy, Flannagan, Gallagher, Haggerty, Healy, Hurley, Kearney, Keating, Leary, Madden, Malone, Mahoney, Maloney, Mooney—many Mc's and O's,—Nolan, Regan, Rourke, Shea, Sheehan and Sheridan.

We find in our search that TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY-ONE officers of the Continental Army and Navy were BORN IN IRELAND. Over FIFTEEN HUNDRED Commissioned Officers and more than TWENTY THOUSAND non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, who bore indisputable IRISH NAMES, are on the Revolutionary Muster Rolls.

Signers of the Declaration of Independence born in Ireland were: Edward Rutledge, James Smith, George Taylor and Mathew Thornton.

Signers, descendants of Irish immigrants, were: Charles Carroll, Thomas Lynch, Thomas McKean and George Read.

The compiler of this information desires to acknowledge his appreciation to the historian, Michael J. O'Brien, and to his contribution to historical literature—"A Hidden Phase of American History."

FRANK SHERIDAN.

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HISTORY IN THE PRESS

SITE OF OLD KASKASKIA IS RIVER VICTIM

(By Associated Press)

Kaskaskia, Ill., March 27.—In fulfillment of a legendary Indian curse, the waves of the Mississippi River lapping away most of the site of old Kaskaskia—Illinois's first capital—have destroyed the hope of the Illinois State Historical Society placing a marker there.

With practically all of the ancient streets of the village covered by the rippling expanse of the "Father of Waters," only a small island remains to mark what was once the capital of all the territory between the Alleghenies and the Rockies. The island yearly grows smaller.

The historical society succeeded in securing a brick from the old capitol building in which the first territorial and state legislatures met.

In its disappearance, tradition has it that a legendary Indian curse has been fulfilled. Situated on a small peninsula at the mouth of the Kaskaskia or Okaw River which joins the Mississippi River within a short distance, the site was made an island in 1881 when the two rivers met behind the town.

The story of the curse has its beginnings two centuries ago when the French emigrated from Canada and came to Kaskaskia to settle among the Indians. Tradition tells how Jean Bernard, his wife and ten-year-old daughter Marie came with them. As the village grew, Bernard prospered as a trader and his daughter grew more beautiful each day. Bernard grew wealthy and was the leading citizen of the settlement.

The legend tells of the numerous suitors who were rejected by Marie firmly but politely, until one evening she set eye on a stalwart Indian youth, one of the converts of the village.

The Indian boy had endeared himself to both his tribe and the whites by his unassuming but enterprising ways. Jean Bernard seeing the promising youth about the village took him into the trading business with him.

Marie fell in love with her father's protege much to the amazement of her parents. Indignantly Bernard severed his business connections and everything possible was done to discourage the budding romance.

Marie's suitor left the village and for a number of years was not heard of. Marie apparently had outgrown the affair when suddenly the boy appeared and the two eloped. A searching party set out and

three days later found them in a camp down the Mississippi River. Bernard was given the privilege to do as he liked with the boy. He tied the Indian to a raft, face toward the sky and set him adrift in the river. As the raft floated out from shore the doomed Indian cursed Bernard and Kaskaskia and asked that he be killed by his own white people and that the river destroy the village. The girl was placed in a convent where she died.

Bernard was later killed by a Frenchman in a duel, the legend says, and the river completed the fulfillment of the curse by engulfing old Kaskaskia.

More credulous people still believe that the ghost of the Indian appears on stormy nights, floating face upward on the waves over the vanished village.

Older than St. Louis or New Orleans, this early Mission post which provided a resting place for voyagers, and was the first territorial and state capital of Illinois, lives only in history as a place to hang a story on, or material for a poet's dream.

SHAWNEETOWN BELIEVES RESTORATION OF HARBOR WILL CAUSE CITY TO BOOM

(By Associated Press)

Shawneetown, Ill., March 6.—Lore of early frontier life on the Ohio River dating back to the beginning of the eighteen hundreds, is closely linked with the proposed plan in Congress for widening and deepening the harbor at Shawneetown.

These pioneer tales of a century past, when the river was the principal trade route to the interior and Shawneetown was its metropolis, have given rise to dreams of a restored Shawneetown. The ghost of the old river town has returned to tell of the old days of power and prominence on the river.

Shawneetown, one of the oldest towns in the state, was founded by the Shawnee Indians long before the coming of the white man. Shortly after its settlement by the whites it became a center of river traffic, and its harbor has been a place of refuge for steamboats and barges plying the river since 1815.

Following the first settlement in the town by Michael Sprinkle, a blacksmith, in 1804, the town grew rapidly and the first bank in the state, "The Bank of Illinois," was founded there on December 28, 1816. So wild was the country and so uncertain the possession of any wealth that John C. Reeves, cashier of the bank, slept on the silver, which was kept in barrels. The bank almost failed and was

later granted another charter under the name of the State Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown.

The river was a great cause for anxiety to the inhabitants from the time of their first settlement, because of its great floods. The houses, with the exception of the two brick structures, were built on stilts from two to three feet high, as a protection against the water.

Waters of the river often flooded the town, but it was not until late in the century that its citizens were able to erect a levee which would give them protection from the sudden rises. As late as 1907 a petition was presented to Congress to make appropriations to erect a levee which would keep the high water of the river from the streets.

The greatest flood in the history of the town came in 1858, when the water rose so high that steamboats navigated with ease through the streets. In this year Shawneetown was granted a charter as a city and the first levee was built. Old records tell of another flood in February of 1883, when the water stood eight feet in the houses.

One cause for concern arising from the river had nothing to do with the floods. In 1811 when the great comet flashed through the sky, the wondering populace gathered at the river bank to witness the spectacle. Just as the comet reached the horizon the Ohio River's first steamboat came up the river, sparks flying from its funnels. The frightened people fled in terror, thinking that the comet was on the river.

The first government land office established in Illinois was opened in Shawneetown on February 21, 1812. It was known as the land office of the South East District of Illinois. A document directed to the land office of Shawneetown bearing the signature of Zachary Taylor written on sheepskin is now in the possession of George Johnson, of Hamilton County.

A big event in the history of the city was the visit of Lafayette on May 14, 1825. The countryside gathered at the river bank to greet him, and the great Frenchman walked on a carpet of calico to the Rawlings house, where he dined with state notables.

An interesting criticism of the early people of the city is contained in a letter written by a Mr. Low, a missionary who visited Shawneetown in 1816. "Among the 300 inhabitants," Mr. Low said, "there is not a single soul who makes any pretense at religion. They spend their Sundays fighting, drinking at the taverns or grog shops, hunting in the woods, or trading in their stores."

COMPILED BY TERESA L. MAHER.



NON
CIRCULATING

